

M

E

M

O F

O

I

R

S

1785

G U Y J O L I,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z;

C L A U D E J O L I,

C A N O N O F N O T R E - D A M E;

A N D T H E

D U T C H E S S D E N E M O U R S.

These several Histories form a SUPPLEMENT to, and an Illustration
of the MEMOIRS of CARDINAL DE RETZ.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

B Y E D W A R D T A Y L O R.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

Who has not read the MEMOIRS of DE RETZ, of JOLI, and the
DUTCHESS of NEMOURS? these WRITERS were Eye-Witnesses
of the Facts which they relate.

Preface to the Memoirs of CHOISY.

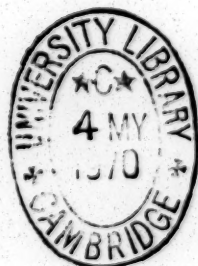
D U B L I N:

Printed for R. MARCHBANK, Cole alley, Castle-street.

M,DCC,LXXV.

Entered with the Company of Booksellers.

77... 5-108



P R E F A C E.

ALTHOUGH M. JOLI, the author of these memoirs, does not rank as the chief personage in the following scenes, yet he, nevertheless, is placed in so brilliant and so distinguished a point of view, that he, in some sort, eclipses the lustre of the principal character of the piece. In fact, he has the greatest share in almost every transaction: it is he who gives the most prudent advice, who inspires the firmest resolutions, who forms the best concerted projects, who devises the most decisive expedients, who proposes the most judicious conciliatory measures, and who successfully undertakes the most delicate negotiations, and the most difficult enterprizes. On almost every occasion, he appears to be discreetly reserved in his discourse, prudent in his conduct, enlightened in his determinations, fixed in his principles, fruitful in resources, bold in danger, and stedfast in his resolutions. There is diffused, moreover, throughout his whole narrative a spirit of sincerity which charms us.

These memoirs form a compleat supplement to and an illustration of the memoirs of Cardinal



nal DE RETZ, and are useful and absolutely necessary to the reader; as they throw a light on many passages that at first seem obscure and unintelligible: and, although the matters related in both seem, at first view, to be nearly similar, yet we observe in the performance before us, a considerable number of new incidents and circumstances, which are either totally different, or are more explicitly recounted. Besides, M. JOLI goes much farther, and gives an account of the transactions of several successive years, of which no mention whatever is made in his eminency's memoirs. It may even be asserted, that those additions form the most curious part of the work; because the domestic life, and the personal qualities of Cardinal DE RETZ, are therein laid open and exhibited in the clearest light.

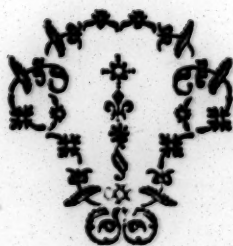
Several additions have been published of the memoirs of JOLI. We have carefully compared them together, and have availed ourselves of them to render this, which we now offer to the public, more exact and correct than any of those which have preceded it.

The work composed by GUY JOLI, one of the Counsellors of the Châtelet, is followed
by

P R E F A C E.

v

by a narrative of the disputes between Cardinal DE RETZ and the court of France ; and which is extracted from a manuscript history, written by CLAUDE JOLI, one of the canons Notre-Dame. This extract the reader will find to begin at page 115 in the second volume, which concludes with the memoirs of the Dutcheſs de NEMOURS.



ADVER.

A

T

life
natu
priv
nex
per
circ
dee
dist
nen
wh
ow
the
mo
sur
pla
app
no
of
din
tru
Jo
na
de
wi

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE public transactions of Cardinal DE RETZ's life have been of so important a nature, that we naturally wish to be made acquainted with the private motives by which he was actuated; and, next to an explicit detail of these motives, nothing, perhaps, can give us greater satisfaction, than a circumstantial account of his domestic life. Indeed, the behaviour of all such persons as have distinguished themselves in the world in any eminent degree, particularly statesmen, at those times when, it may be supposed, they appeared in their own real characters, in their families, and amongst their friends, has ever been deemed matter of the most agreeable entertainment; witness the pleasure with which we read the familiar recitals of the plain, but wise and judicious PLUTARCH. It will appear, from a perusal of the following sheets, that no one was better qualified to undertake this task, of depicting the private life and manners of Cardinal DE RETZ, as well as of discovering to us the true sources of his public actions, than M. GUY JOLI, the author of the memoirs which bear his name. The Cardinal placed an unlimited confidence in his abilities and fidelity, and entrusted him with the management of his most important concerns:

cerns : and the conduct of M. JOLI, in all the various transactions in which he bore a part, fully justified his eminency's choice. The authenticity of these memoirs is immoveably established, by the praises given them by all cotemporary writers, and by M. VOLTAIRE ; as also by the repeated references made to them in the notes to the memoirs of Cardinal DE RETZ. M. CLAUDE JOLI, the author of the memoirs which begin at page 115 in the second volume of this work, was at once a member of the chapter of Paris, in virtue of his office of Canon of Notre-Dame, and also held a post in one of the civil departments of the state ; by which double advantage he was enabled to acquire a thorough insight into the several matters which he relates. The Dutchesse de NEMOURS, whose memoirs conclude the work, in laying open to us the secret motives which influenced the conduct of the principal *Frondeurs*, has supplied that, which alone was wanting to render the whole compleat and perfect.



M E M O I R S

O F

G U Y J O L I.

AS the mal-administration of Cardinal de Richelieu had drawn upon him the general odium, so the news of his death was received, throughout all France, with inexpressible demonstrations of joy; and, as this event was quickly followed by the decease of Lewis XIII. in consequence of which the Queen was constituted Regent, the general joy received no small addition, from the hopes which were conceived, that her Majesty, who had, in her own person, suffered much from the violent measures of the Cardinal, would adopt a conduct, diametrically opposite to that which had been pursued by the preceding minister; more especially, as her Majesty had, hitherto, manifested a sensible concern for the miseries of the people, in general, and the disgrace which had fallen upon some individuals, in particular. But, when it was observed, that the Queen, together with her station in the government, had changed her opinion and disposition also; when it was seen, that she had dismissed the Bishop of Beauvais,* to whom she had the greatest obligations, and who bore the reputation of being, at least, an honest man, and that she committed the management of national affairs entirely to Cardinal Mazarin;—every one formed his own conjectures on the causes of this her extraordinary predilection, and attachment to a foreigner, till, at length, she insensibly became slighted by most of the chief nobility,

VOL. I.

B

* Augustin Potier, the Queen's almoner, and chief confident. It was this prelate who advised the Hollanders to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, thereby to preserve to themselves the friendship and alliance of the French court.

bility, and other persons of distinction, nay, even by some of her most particular friends, whose interest she had, very imprudently, solicited, in support of her new favourite.

When the people, also, perceived that, instead of the relief which they expected, their taxes were encreased, the seductive hopes which they had entertained, and the shouts of acclamation which they had raised, when the Queen conducted the new monarch to Paris, and was declared Regent, were suddenly converted into murmurs, imprecations, and that kind of despair, which is ever most violent in those, who, having once given way to hope, find themselves unexpectedly disappointed in their desires.

To these causes, in fact, must we attribute the subsequent insurrection. For although that event did not happen till the sixth year from the commencement of the Regency, yet the people had been so constantly disgusted and incensed to a very high degree, by the misconduct of their rulers, that we have much greater reason for surprize that their resentment lay so long dormant, than that it broke out with such violence at last.

The people had long and patiently submitted to these oppressions. They had suffered the president de Barillon to end his days in confinement, in the prison of Amboise, to which the Queen had doomed him, although he had been the chief instrument of her designs in the parliament, during the Regency. They had been witnesses to the tedious imprisonment of the Duke of Beaufort, in the Castle of Vincennes, where he languished several years, under a false and ridiculous charge of conspiring against the life of Cardinal Mazarin: They made loud complaints of the bad state of the Finances; and openly condemned the appointment of Emery, a man of a violent temper and mean extraction, to the office of superintendant. As the court judged it necessary to make some alterations in the Tariff, the parliament assembled several times, on that business, towards the close of the year 1647. The people daily gathered in crouds, at the Palais, * and all the public places of the

* The place of meeting of the parliament, and some of the other courts of judicature.

the city. At this time, Messrs. De Cadeau, an eminent merchant, De Croiset, a solicitor of the Chatelet * of Paris, and several other worthy citizens presented, and vigorously supported a petition to the parliament, against the edict of the Domaine.† This transaction gave so much offence to the court, that orders were issued for seizing the persons of all the parties concerned in it. But no sooner did the regiment of guards, which had been sent to favour the execution of these orders, appear in the street of St. Denis, than the populace, who were apprized of their design, instantly ran to arms, rang the alarm bells of all the neighbouring churches, and made such effectual dispositions for the protection of those against whom the aforesaid orders were issued, that they compelled both the guards and the lieutenant-civil, who had received instructions to attend personally on the occasion, to retire, leaving their commission unexecuted.

The incessant firing of guns, which was heard in every quarter of the city, during the following nights, demonstrated, that the minds of the inhabitants were occupied with other designs, than merely that of their own defence.

However, as neither the parliament, nor the other superior courts ‡ had, as yet, declared for either party, but constantly endeavoured to preserve a medium, between the oppressive conduct of the court and the rage of resentment in the people, matters advanced but slowly; and 'tis probable that no event of consequence would have ensued, had not the imprudence of the minister and his associates betrayed them into two actions, at the beginning of the year 1648, which clashed so violently with the interests of all the superior courts, as to compel them to such a conduct, for the preservation of their own particular rights, as no consideration of the public welfare could hitherto produce in them.

B 2

It

* A court, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction. The parliament of Paris assembles, five times a year, at the Chatelet, for the trial of prisoners.

† The Domaine is a tax levied on the crown lands, confiscations, fines, &c. and forms a considerable part of the King's revenue.

‡ These are the parliament of Paris, the grand council, the court of aids, and the chamber of accounts. Vide p. 6.

It cannot be denied, but that there were, in each of the superior courts, many persons of probity, who preferred the public good to their own private interest; yet, as their honest designs were constantly thwarted, by the corrupt influence of the cabal, neither the tears of the people, nor the spirited resistance of the magistrates would, in the end, have proved of any avail, had not the court, by its imprudent conduct, countermined and destroyed its own baneful projects.

In the month of January 1648, the King delivered an edict to the parliament, containing an appointment of twelve additional masters of requests. * This appointment became the first foundation of that vigorous opposition, by which the superior courts, as will be seen hereafter, so eminently distinguished themselves, against the arbitrary attempts of the court. For although the above edict appeared to concern the society of the masters of requests alone, yet its influence extended itself to every member of the profession of the law; and there were few families which were not affected by it, in the persons either of their relations or friends. Besides, as the masters of requests assembled on the same day, and, on the day following, sent deputies to the parliament, with a protest against the above edict; this animated conduct, in a society which had been hitherto rather remarkable for their submissiveness to the court, awakened the general attention; and so much the more, as it was well known, that this meeting had been held in defiance of the express prohibition of the chancellor, and that they had resolved to raise a fund, among themselves, to allow 12,000 livres per annum to each member of their society, who might be exiled on this occasion, and, in case of the death of any of them, during such exile, to pay the purchase-value of their office to the widows or heirs of the deceased.

There happened also, about this time, another incident, which contributed much to produce the subsequent union of the superior courts. The members of the

* The judicial intendants, as also those of the police and finances, are appointed from this body. The masters of requests, to the number of four only, are admitted also to a seat in the parliament.

the chamber of accounts, * the grand council, † and the court of aids ‡ had lately been required to contribute their quota to the Paulette, || a tax which had, for some time, lain dormant, and was now newly revived. With this demand, however, they absolutely refused to comply, alledging, that none but inferior officers had ever been subjected to the tax; and orders were, in consequence, issued for stopping the payment of their salaries.

Operas were now first exhibited at the Palais Royal. § For the purpose of this entertainment, upwards of 500,000 crowns had been expended, in procuring musicians and singers, from Italy. This circumstance attracted the particular attention of the public in general, but especially of the three superior courts above mentioned, who plainly perceived, from this enormous and superfluous expence, that the demand made on them was vexatious, and unauthorized by any peculiar exigency of the state.

Although they made no public declaration of their resentment against the rigour and disrespectful conduct of the court, they, nevertheless, secretly concerted the measures necessary to their common interest; and, rightly judging that, unless they made the general welfare of the nation, and the regulation of the finances, the ostensible motives of their future transactions, they should meet with little countenance or support from the people, they therefore determined to disclaim all regard to their own private interest, and to profess themselves to be actuated by no other consideration than that

* To this court all those who are concerned in the management of the King's revenues deliver in their accounts. It has also precedence even of the parliament, respecting the date of its establishment, which is supposed to be coeval with that of the kingdom.

† The jurisdiction of this court extends over the whole kingdom, and there is no appeal from its decisions. The chancellor, for the time being, sits as president in this court.

‡ The court of aids has the superintendence of the salt-duties, tallies, and all other taxes and imposts.

|| A tax paid by some of the officers of the courts of justice. It derives its name from one Paulet, secretary of the chamber to Henry IV. who first projected it.

§ The Palais Royal was then a royal palace, it now belongs to the Duke of Orleans.

that of the public good. In consequence of this determination, the grand council and the court of aids assembled, and sent a deputation to the chamber of accounts, proposing a coalition of the three companies, for the purpose of deliberating on the steps necessary to be taken, for remedying certain abuses in the state, without mentioning either the demand made on them, or the stoppage of their salaries.

This measure caused an universal surprize; more especially as the chamber of accounts readily acceded to the proposition, and instantly appointed deputies, to accompany those of the court of aids, with a similar proposal to the parliament, for a general union of the four courts. Cardinal Mazarin put in practice every artifice, in order to prevent the success of this application. But all his efforts proved ineffectual; for, on the thirteenth of May, 1648, the parliament, also, yielded their consent; and decreed, that the deputies of the four courts should assemble, at stated times, in the chamber of St. Louis, to consult on the present situation of affairs.

The above decree of the parliament now became the subject of general conversation, throughout the kingdom, and the court, being totally unprepared for it, set every engine in motion to procure its reversal: They even offered to relinquish the demand which had been made on the superior courts. But this condescension came too late to produce the intended effect; and the companies, acquiring fresh courage from the encreasing weakness of the court, rejected the offers which were made them; haughtily adding, that their opposition arose solely from a sense of their duty to the public.

The court therefore, perceiving that its credit and authority diminished daily, resolved to try the effects of force; and, in the night between the Thursday and Friday, preceding the feast of Pentecost, seized the persons of Messrs. Turgot and d'Argouges, counsellors of the grand council, who were conducted to Mount Olympus, M. Lotin, a president, and two counsellors of the parliament, who were carried to Pont-à Mousson,
and

and Messrs. Chefel and Guerin, counsellors of the court of aids, who were exiled to Nanci.

Several decrees had been issued by the council, annulling that of the parliament, of the thirteenth of May: and M. Guenegaud, secretary of state, was sent with M. Carnavalet, lieutenant of the King's bodyguards, to the Palais, with orders to tear out the leaf of the register in which that decree was inserted. But an inferior clerk, belonging to the office where the register is kept, having refused to produce the book, at their requisition, intelligence of this refusal was soon communicated to the shop-keepers in the great hall, * who instantly shut all the doors, and would, possibly, have proceeded to extremities, had not Messrs. Guenegaud and Carnavalet precipitately retreated by a back staircase, leaving the business they came upon unfinished.

Much about this time, an incident happened, which, tho' apparently of small importance in itself, had a marvellous effect towards irritating the minds even of those members of the parliament, who had, hitherto, conducted themselves with the most moderation. The court being informed that the president de Mesmes had, on a certain occasion, delivered his sentiments in the parliament with unwonted freedom, took the ridiculous precaution of placing a spy before his door, with instructions to minute down the names of all persons resorting to the house. This circumstance coming to the president's knowledge, he gave the spy into the custody of a commissary, who conducted him to the Chatalet. But when the parliament sent an order, on the next day, for his removal from thence to the Conciergerie, † it appeared, that he had been set at liberty, early that morning, by the King's authority. This proceeding was highly resented by all the members; and many of them were of opinion, that the whole was a concerted scheme, to give the president (whose conduct had rendered him suspected) greater credit with the parliament.

The

* In the great hall of the Palais, there are a number of shops where goods are daily exposed to sale.

† An inferior prison; resembling our Bridewell.

The numerous and trifling incidents of this kind, which happened daily, so far inflamed the people's minds, and diminished their respect for the court, that all the public places, and particularly the hall of the Palais were continually filled with persons, who openly inveighed against the late edicts. Nay, even the women assembled on Saturdays, at the door of the church of Notre Dame, when the Queen came to mass, and, as the guards would not suffer them to approach near enough to speak to her Majesty, repeatedly cried out, "to Naples, to Naples;" insinuating thereby, that the people of Paris, unless their wrongs were quickly redressed, would follow the example which had been recently set them by those of Naples. *

These instances of the popular dissatisfaction were, however, but slightly regarded by the Queen and the ministry, although they are at all times dangerous to the state, as the people are thereby insensibly led to adopt the sentiments of their neighbours in similar situations. This negligence was the more reprehensible, as the measures which were then carrying on in England † had produced a very sinister effect in France also: where, although every one disapproved of the extremities to which the English had proceeded, yet 'twas the excess only, and not the motives, which they condemned; and the people had imperceptibly imbibed the dangerous notion, that it was both natural and lawful for subjects oppressed by their governors, to take up arms and defend themselves.

The Duke of Beaufort's escape from imprisonment in the castle of Vincennes, on the feast of Pentecost 1648, greatly contributed to encrease the confidence of the people, who, from that moment, looked upon his highness in the light of a leader, capable of defending them against the court; and their hatred to Cardinal Mazarin, caused them to consider the Duke's restoration to liberty as the commencement of the æra of their own freedom.

The Duke, during his confinement, had kept up a constant correspondence with one of the persons appointed

* An insurrection had lately happened at Naples.

† The civil war between Charles I. and his Parliament.

pointed to guard him, whose name was Vaugrimaut, on whom he at length prevailed to furnish him with the means of making his escape. Ropes and all other articles necessary for the purpose having been previously provided, the day of Pentecost was fixed on for the execution of this enterprize. Accordingly, about one o'clock in the afternoon of that day, as the Duke and M. de le Ramée, the governor of the castle of Vincennes, were walking together in the gallery leading to the platform, as was their daily custom, Vaugrimaut entered the gallery, and, having secured the door on the inside, he and the Duke fell on the governor whom they bound and gagged. This being effected, Vaugrimaut, without ceremony, took the lead, and let himself down by a rope into the ditch, telling the Duke, that it was but just that he should provide for his own safety first, as his life depended on the success of the enterprize; whereas, in case his Highness should be retaken, it would be attended with no other consequence, than a more close-confinement than he had hitherto undergone. The Duke, admitting the force of this argument, now followed his deliverer into the ditch, from whence they were both drawn out, by some persons whom Vaumorin, the Duke's valet de chambre, had procured for that end; and the whole company, being mounted on horseback, arrived safe in the district of Maine and Anjou, where the Duke remained concealed for some time, in the house of the Curate of La Fleche.

This event greatly surprised the court, although Cardinal Mazarin had, several days before, received intelligence of such a design being in agitation. It had been foretold, also, by the Abbé de Marivaux and the Advocate Goiset, who were both addicted to the study of astrology. Although these prognostications were treated with universal ridicule, yet the Abbé was so confident of the accomplishment of his prediction, that he published it, with all the attendant circumstances; and, being jeered by one of his friends, whom he met at court, on the day on which the event took place, who told him aloud, that *the Duke of Beaufort was still at Vincennes*, he coolly replied, that *it was*

not yet four o'clock, and that all raillery on the subject must be mal-à-propos till that hour was elapsed At length, however, the affair so strongly attracted the public attention, and the Cardinal received such repeated cautions on the subject, that he thought proper to dispatch an express to M. de la Ramée, ordering him to keep a watchful eye over his prisoner, without explaining himself any farther; but the governor had not the least suspicion of Vaugrimaut, he being the man in whom he most confided.

Besides the preceding circumstances, the advices which continually arrived from Munster cut off every hope of an approaching peace, and thereby filled up the measure of the people's resentment against the Cardinal, to whom they imputed all the delays and difficulties which had arisen on the occasion.

Ever since the year 1643, the Duke de Longueville and Messrs. D'Avaux and Servien had been sent to Munster, as Plenipotentiaries; where, after many obstacles had been raised by Servien, who was in the secret of the Cardinal's private intentions, certain propositions were, at length, agreed to by the Duke and M. D'Avaux, as being honourable and advantageous to France. 'Tis certain, also, that those two ministers were much inclined to sign the above propositions, but that, Servien having refused his concurrence, they wanted resolution to accomplish it, although their commissions empowered them to sign whenever any two of them should agree in the same opinion. At the Duke de Longueville's return to France, the authenticity of the advices which had been received from Munster was so firmly established, by those who had accompanied him on the embassy, that all men were convinced that the Cardinal had purposely obstructed and defeated the negotiations, fearing lest a peace might diminish his consequence in the state, and also lest he should thereby forfeit the emoluments, which he derived from the numerous taxes, wherewith the people were continually burdened, under the pretence of supporting the war.

The deputies of the parliament and the other courts still continued to assemble in the Chambre of St. Louis, in open defiance of the daily prohibitory decrees of the council.

council. This conduct created such a general expectation of an approaching change in the state of affairs, that every one eagerly sought the means of promoting a measure so desirable to the whole nation.

But the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé at Lens, during this period, on the 20th of August 1648, inspiring the court with fresh courage, it was determined to seize the persons of those who were the most active in the parliament, on a supposition that the rest would thereby be easily reduced to submission.

This design had been suggested even by some of the members themselves, and particularly by M. Molé, the first president, who, although he at times affected a spirited opposition to the measures of the court, yet privately practised every artifice to promote them. To this conduct he was influenced by a double motive: on the one hand, that he might gain credit with the parliament: and on the other, that, by increasing his consequence with the court, he might thereby render himself more deserving in their opinion, of the gratification of 100,000 livres which they paid him annually, and obtain new favours for his children, whose power over him was absolute, and who sold him to the court.

It was well known, also, that the high reputation which the Sieur de Broussel had acquired in the parliament, was the source of much disquietude to M. Molé; and from hence it was conjectured, that the president was one of those who had recommended to the Court the above pernicious measure, of seizing that gentleman and some other members, whose sole crime was their having acquired the affection of the people, whose cause they had defended against the attempts of the Minister.

However, this grand project was executed on the 26th August 1648, on which day the King accompanied the Queen to the church of Notre Dame, to be present at the Te Deum, which was performed on account of the victory of Lens. After the service was finished, their Majesties returned to the palace, but the French and Swiss guards, contrary to their usual custom, remained

remained posted in the neighbourhood of the church. At the same time, the *Sieur de Comminges*, lieutenant of the Queen's guards, attended by a few soldiers, about one o'clock in the afternoon, entered the house of *M. de Broussel*, near the gate of *St. Landri*, just at the instant he rose from table, in his gown and slippers, in company with his children.

M. de Comminges, on his entrance, presented this worthy man with a *Lettre de Cachet*, * which contained an order for his immediately following the bearer. *M. Broussel* replied that he was ready to obey, but desired permission to dress himself first; and *Miss Broussel* added that, as her father had taken physic, which was really the case, it was possible he might have occasion to retire on that account. This was consented to: but *M. de Comminges*, thinking that his prisoner staid rather too long, and observing that the people gathered about the door, and had even driven away the coach which had been prepared for the purpose, obliged the *Sieur de Broussel* to set off directly, in the dress in which he first found him. As they passed through the street des *Marmousets*, some persons threw a wooden bench into the middle of the way, with a view of stopping the coach: but this proved ineffectual, and the coach drove over it, through the midst of the guards, first to the New Market, and afterwards to the Goldsmith's Quay, where it broke down. At this instant, however, a lady passing by in another carriage, *M. de Comminges* obliged her to alight, and placing his prisoner therein, conducted him to the castle of *Madrid*, and from thence to *St. Germain's*, where he lay. The guards now filed off towards the spot where the coach had broke down, extending themselves the whole length of the New Bridge. In the mean time, as the news of this event was spread through the whole city, the people began to assemble, and all the shops were almost instantaneously shut up. The servants and neighbours of *M. Broussel*, whose houses overlooked the river, having acquainted the watermen on the shore with the transaction, they went in their boats to

* This signifies simply a letter under the Royal Signet.

to the gate St. Landri, and, taking their boat-hooks for weapons, joined a body of people, who had assembled at the ringing of the alarm-bell of St. Landri's church, armed with rusty swords and halberds; and ran after the coach, crying out, "kill, kill." But the Marshal de la Milleraye, who was on horseback at the head of the guards, upon the New Bridge, advancing into the street St. Louis, endeavoured to suppress the tumult. This, however, he found impracticable; and it was with much difficulty and danger that he effected a retreat; as a watchmaker, who lived in the above street, attempted to shoot him, from one of the windows, but, happily, his piece missed fire.

The lieutenant-civil, the lieutenant-criminal, and the other magistrates of the police now thought proper to repair to the house of the first president of the parliament; but, in passing along, they were pelted with stones, by the populace, as was also the Marshal, who, having received a slight hurt, discharged a pistol, and mortally wounded a man, who was a porter, near the church of St. Germain of Auxerrois.

It was in the street St. Honoré that the porter was shot; and the Coadjutor passing thro' that street, on his return from the Palais, much displeased at the reception he had met with, confessed him, as he lay in the kennel. The people were very visibly affected by this incident; and it contributed not a little to reconcile them to the Coadjutor; to effect which, as he has since declared in my hearing, was the chief motive of his conduct on the occasion. On his entrance into the Queen's apartment, in his pontifical robes, which he had not laid aside since the Te Deum, he overheard Beautru whisper to the Queen, "Your Majesty is very sick; the Coadjutor has brought you the extreme unction," and several other pleasantries. The Queen then addressed him, "Mr. Coadjutor, the King, my son, will take a proper time to punish"—but, Cardinal Mazarin giving her a tap on the shoulder, she instantly changed her tone. While the Coadjutor was confessing the porter, he received a blow, from a stone thrown at him, which caused a contusion in his side; and, when the Queen sent to desire that he would
come

come the next day to the Palais Royal, he had taken to his bed, purposely to avoid complying with the request, which he had foreseen. The Queen offered to punish Beautru, if he required it; but he replied, that he was not at all offended. That night he sent for one Miron, a master of accounts, who was much attached to him, and was killed afterwards, at the fire at the Hotel de Ville. This man had the command of the city-guard in the quarter where he lived, called the Chevalier de Guet. Miron proposed beating to arms, and to barricading the streets, but, as it was judged improper for that quarter to set the example, Martineau, a Counsellor of the Requests, who commanded in the street St. Jaques, was sent to on the occasion. He was gone to bed, much intoxicated: but his wife, the president de Pommereuil's sister, with whom the Coadjutor was in love, instantly rose, ordered the drums to be beaten, and began the barricades in that quarter, as did Miron also, directly afterwards, in his.

The Coadjutor of Paris, through a feigned desire of putting a stop to the tumult, left his palace, on foot, dressed in his pontifical robes; and, as he passed through the streets, very bountifully bestowed his benedictions on the people, who, on their part, as readily threw themselves on their knees to receive them, but, at the same time, never ceased from crying out, that M. Broussel must be set at liberty. The prelate, at length, with some difficulty, reached the Palais Royal, and, being admitted to the Queen's presence, represented to her, in very lively terms, the danger which was likely to ensue from a perseverance in the measures lately adopted: but, as her Majesty answered him with a degree of asperity, and the partizans of the Cardinal treated him with ridicule, it has been conjectured, that the occurrences of this audience laid the first foundation of that unremitting enmity to the court, by which his subsequent conduct was so strongly marked.

Many, however, were of opinion, that the Coadjutor's displeasure against the Cardinal was of an earlier date, and that it arose from his eminency's having refused to grant him the post of governor of Paris for the

the Duke de Montbazon. The truth is, that the Co-adjutor's palace had, for some time past, been the resort of the Count de Montresor, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, Messrs. Saint Ibal, de Laigues, de Fontrailles, de Varicarville, d'Argenteuil, and of all the malecontents in general: he had also preached a sermon before the Jesuits Society, on the feast of St. Louis, and at which their Majesties also were present, which was deemed by the courtiers very seditious and inflammatory. They asserted also (what was but too true) that his benedictions to the people were better calculated to create, than to appease a commotion; and that Messrs. d'Argenteuil and de Marigni, who were his supporters, exhorted the populace to persevere in their tumultuous conduct.

The president de Blancmenil was taken into custody at the same time with M. Broussel; and the officers went, on the same business, to the houses of the President Charton, and Messrs. Lainé and Loyse, all of whom had made their escape. At each of the houses of the two last mentioned gentlemen a Lettre de Cachet was left, to express their being banished, the one to Nants, the other to Senlis: but neither of them obeyed the order. These transactions obliged the parliament to assemble, and to proceed in a body to the Palais Royal. On their entrance, the Queen was much inclined to order some of the counsellors to be immediately hung up at the windows; but she was dissuaded therefrom by the Cardinal: my father was one of those whom the Queen had marked out as victims. A question arose, whether, as they were not then in *Loco Majorum*, they could legally proceed to business, in their parliamentary capacity, which was at length determined in the affirmative: I have been told that the arguments on both sides were very ingenious. Martineau gave it as his opinion, that the people's demand of M. Broussel's enlargement was reasonable, and ought to be granted; which gave rise to much murmuring among the members: and, in fact, he appeared not yet to have slept himself sober.

A kind of general assembly of the courts was now held, but, as nothing could be determined on that day, the

the meeting was adjourned to the next morning. About six o'clock in the evening, the fury of the people appeared to abate, as they began to retire, by degrees, to their habitations, after the guards had quitted the new bridge, by order of the Marshal de la Milleraye, who, nevertheless, returned in a short time, accompanied by a number of persons, hired for the purpose, shouting "God save the King!" the shops, however, still remained shut, and most of the citizens continued under arms, at their doors, having also taken the precaution to provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of ammunition. After all, there was great probability, that the return of night would have restored tranquillity to the city, had not the mayor and the other magistrates of the police, by the Queen's orders, sent notice to all the officers of the city-guard to hold their arms and men ready for service. These orders were occasioned by the mis-information which the Queen had received, respecting the general disposition of the inhabitants, in the present circumstances of affairs: it having been represented to her Majesty, that all the citizens of any consequence and reputation were well-affected, and that the present disturbances were raised by a few of the rabble only, who might easily be quelled.

In the mean time, this order greatly encreased the confidence of the citizens, who thereby saw themselves authorized, in some sort, to act at their own discretion. Moreover, the relations and friends of M. Broussel and the other exiles, as also all those who were in opposition to the court, were very alert on the occasion; sending messages, during the night, to all the citizens of their acquaintance, exhorting them to a spirited exertion of their duty on this important conjuncture.

The Coadjutor also, who was highly offended at the reception the tender of his services had met with from the court, sent similar messages to his friends, by his relation the Chevalier de Serrigni, and Messrs. d'Argenteuil and de Laigues; the latter of whom was lately returned from the army, much incensed against the Prince of Condé, by whom he had been very ill treated, in consequence of a dispute at play.

All these movements, however, would possibly have been attended with no material consequence, had not the court, in the following instance, broken through all bounds, and raised the resentment of the people to the highest pitch. The Queen and Cardinal Mazarin, emboldened by the assurances they had received of the citizens fidelity, resolved to pursue the same tract of rigorous conduct, in which they at first set out. In consequence of this determination, the Chancellor was sent to the parliament, with orders to put a stop to their deliberations, and to prohibit them from taking any cognizance of public affairs for the future: this measure was also secretly promoted by the first President, and some others of the Cardinal's partizans, who had exerted every effort to abate the ardour of the parliament, and to spin out the business as much as possible. As the entrance of several of the streets were blocked up, by the chains stretched across them, when the Chancellor's carriage reached the Hotel de Luines, on the Augustine's quay, he found himself obliged to alight, and to pursue his journey on foot. In passing through a croud of people, who were assembled near the spot, his person was recognized by a man, against whom he had lately decided a cause brought before the council; who suddenly cried out, "there's that scoundrel the Chancellor, who is going to forbid the parliament to assemble, that M. Broussel may not be set at liberty: knock him down!" Thereupon, the people running towards the Chancellor, he had but just time enough to slip into the Hotel de Luines, where he remained for some time, hid in a cloaths-press, which was contrived in the wall.

The people now, rushing from all quarters, forced their way into the house, and searched it from top to bottom: but not being able to find the Chancellor, they resolved to set fire to it. They were prevented however, from executing this design, by the arrival of the Marshal de la Milleraye, at the head of two or three companies of the French and Swiss guards, who drove the people away, and thereby gave the Chancellor an opportunity of getting into the coach of his relation, M. d'Aubai, the Lieutenant-Civil, who had

also



also come to his assistance, with some officers of justice.

This being effected, the Marshal drew off his troops with all possible expedition, as he perceived that the people were, on all sides, making the necessary dispositions for impeding his retreat: for this reason also, he ordered the guards to fire several times as they retired; and he himself, with a pistol, shot a poor woman, with a basket on her head, at the entrance of the New Bridge. This incident served only to incense the people still the more; and as the Chancellor and his escort passed the brazen horse, several pieces were fired from the opposite houses, by which the coach was shot through in five or six places, and Picard, Lieutenant to the Grand Provost, together with the eldest son of Sanson the geographist, who was at the coach-door, were killed on the spot.

At the other end of the Bridge also, there was a great tumult: as the people on the Tanner's Quay, hearing the report of the musketry, instantly assembled in a body, first arming themselves with the old iron utensils, &c. which are daily exposed to sale in that place. In the mean while, as all the efforts of the populace to prevent the Chancellor's escape had proved ineffectual, five or six hundred of them, forming a separate body, with a piece of linen fastened to the end of a stick, for a flag, and a drum beating before them, without any manner of order, marched along the quay towards the Grand Chatelet. This circumstance, and an apprehension lest the rioters should attempt a general pillage, induced the captain of that division of the city-guard to order the entrance of the street opposite the Church of St. Leufroi to be shut up with the chain. He also ordered the drum to be beat: and, as his company, in consequence of the order of the preceding day, had been kept in readiness, they immediately marched out and took post about the chain and in the adjacent parts. This example was quickly followed by the whole city; and the general cry being, "to arms" and the barricadoes!" in less than half an hour all the streets were barricaded in a similar manner, with the chains and double rows of casks, filled with earth, stones,

stones, &c. behind which the citizens with their arms were ranged, to an almost inconceivable number.

It was on the 27th of August 1648, about ten o'clock in the morning, that this insurrection happened: at which time the parliament was assembled, to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken, with respect to the recent imprisonment of their brethren; and after many of the members had given their opinion, with more or less spirit, it was at length determined, as soon as they became acquainted with what had passed in the city, to wait on the Queen in a body, with a request for their enlargement, and, in case of a refusal, to resume and continue their deliberations, till they should attain the point in view. Accordingly, about half an hour after ten o'clock, they set out from the Palais, dressed in the habits of their office, to the number of one hundred and sixty, the people every where opening the barricadoes, to let them pass, shouting "God save the King! God save Broussel! God save the Parliament!" and conjuring them, at all events to obtain M. Broussel's liberty.

When the parliament arrived at the Palais Royal, they were immediately admitted to an audience, in a hall, in which were the King, the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin, the Chancellor, the Marshal de la Milleraye, and several other persons. The first President made an harangue, in which he set forth the disturbances which had arisen in the city, and represented the absolute necessity of an immediate recall of the exiles; but the Queen answered, with much asperity, that nothing should make her change her resolution; that the Parliament should be responsible to the King for all those disturbances, which were not so formidable but that they might easily have quelled them; that the King would, at a proper time, take due vengeance on them; and it has even been said that, as her Majesty retired to another apartment, she added, in a lower voice,—“yes, he shall be delivered up; but not whilst he has breath.” As the company were about to depart, some proposals were made for an accommodation: but, this producing no effect, the parliament returned in the same order in which they came,

came, save that, as they passed thro' the first barricadoes, the citizens, by their murmurs, expressed great discontent at the failure of their application for M. Broussel's enlargement.

At length, when they arrived at the barricado at the place called la Croix du Tiroir, they were stopped by one Raguenet, a dealer in iron, who commanded in that quarter, and about fifteen of his company, carrying halberds; and Raguenet, addressing himself to the first President, demanded whether he had brought back M. Broussel? To this question, the President replied in the negative: but added, that they had received a very gracious answer from the Queen, on the subject of which they were then going to the Palais, to deliberate: but Raguenet told him, that he must return to the Palais Royal * and procure M. Broussel's release-ment, otherwise he should not be permitted to pass through that quarter. At this instant, some persons in the croud cried out, that they well knew there were traitors amongst them, of whom he, the President, was one, who were secretly leagued with the court, and bore no good will to M. Broussel; and that, if they did not, on their next return, bring him back with them, not a life of one of them should be spared. These declarations were accompanied with many insults towards several of the members, and particularly the first President, whom they shoved about with great rudeness, and, at last, they even pulled him by the beard, which he wore very long.

The people were partly influenced to this conduct by those of the members who had been the most zealous in their opposition, and exhorted them to compel the first President to return: with which he at length found himself obliged to comply, through fear of meeting with worse treatment, than he had hitherto experienced, in case of his non compliance. However, he was not attended back again by all the members; as five of the Presidents and several Councillors, dreading the

* It must be remembered, that the Palais is a place of assembly of the parliament, and the Palais Royal is the King's palace.

the consequence of the peoples menaces, made their escape thro' some of the by-streets.

The parliament now returned to the Palais Royal, and, having obtained permission to deliberate in one of the halls, resolved again to supplicate her Majesty, to grant the exiles their liberty. To this request the court, when informed of the preceding conduct of the people, no longer hesitated to accede; and two of the royal coaches were, in consequence, immediately dispatched to bring back Messrs. Blancmenil and Broussel: at the same time, letters de Cachet, containing the recal of the other exiles, were also delivered to the relations of those persons.

It was not till near seven o'clock in the evening that this business was compleated: after which all the members of the parliament retired to their own houses, without any molestation from the people, who were acquainted with what had passed, and had seen the coaches set off for the above-mentioned gentlemen.

On the same day, the Coadjutor, who was minutely informed of every incident, and naturally concluded that these transactions must produce very important consequences, was persuaded by some of his friends to send M. d'Argenteuil to the Duke de Longueville, who was as much at enmity with the court as himself, requesting an interview and conference on the subject of the present state of affairs. The Duke embraced the proposal with avidity, and went directly himself to the Coadjutor's palace.

Their conference lasted a considerable time; and some of the friends of the Coadjutor, who were present, were for pushing matters still farther: urging that there could not be a more favourable opportunity; that the people, in their present disposition, were ready to undertake any thing; that they declared publicly in the streets, that they ought to attack the Cardinal in person; that, unless this measure was adopted, all others would prove ineffectual; and that, if Cardinal Mazarin should prevail in this contest, he would not act with the same moderation as his opponents had done in the present instance.

But,

But, as these kinds of enterprizes are much more easily proposed than executed, and as the chief nobility do not chuse to appear as leaders upon such occasions, well knowing that they thereby for ever exclude themselves from the favour of the sovereign, this consultation ended in an agreement to keep a watchful eye on the motions of the parliament and people, and to use all their endeavours, to bring over as many of the nobility as possible to their interests, particularly the Prince of Condé, who seemed, in some sort to be injured by the court, in the choice they had made of this season, of rejoicing for his victory, at Lens, for the execution of so unpopular an enterprize. The recent transactions at the Palais Royal had greatly abated the people's resentment: yet, as M. Broussel was not yet arrived, they continued in arms during the whole night, in spite of every endeavour of the magistrates, to compel them to lay them down and to remove the barricadoes, and although the President de Blancmenil was returned from his exile ever since the Friday morning. At length, at about ten o'clock on the next day, M. Broussel arrived; and was received every where with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy; the people shouting "God save the King! God save Broussel!" and firing repeated volleys of musketry, the report of which created a belief in many persons, that an engagement had ensued between the citizens and the soldiers. M. Broussel got out of his coach near the church of Notre Dame, from whence he was accompanied, by an innumerable concourse of people, to his own house; where having shewn himself, at one of the windows, for some time, the commotion began gradually to subside.

In consequence of a message which he had received from the parliament, he went to the Palais, and, after he had replied, with much modesty, to a complimentary speech, which the first president, in the name of the whole body, addressed to the president de Blancmenil and him, he resumed his seat amongst them, without the least appearance of ostentation.

Orders were then issued for removing the barricadoes and disarming, which were instantly complied with;

with ; and, in the space of one hour, the shops were all opened, the carriages were seen driving through the streets, and all things wore the same face of tranquillity as if the late disturbances had never happened. Towards evening, however, it was reported, that a body of troops were posted in the wood of Boulogne ; but this report quickly vanished, and the general repose suffered no interruption during the night. It has been asserted, that when the Duke of Beaufort received intelligence at La Flèche of the transactions at Paris, he set out post, and arrived there a short time after the tumult was appeased. Had he made a little more dispatch, he might have reached the city in time to have taken ample vengeance on Cardinal Mazarin ; at least, the number of those in the city, who were actuated by the same sentiments with his highness, respecting the Cardinal, was so considerable, that, had they been headed by such a leader as the Duke of Beaufort, the court would have found it much more difficult to obtain an accommodation with the insurgents.

This incident drew much censure on Cardinal Mazarin's conduct, in exposing the King, the Queen and himself to such imminent peril ; and it was the opinion of many that, previous to seizing the persons of M. Broussel and the rest, he should have conducted the King to St. Germain or Fontainebleau, where he would have had nothing to fear from the enterprizes either of the parliament or the people, and could never have been compelled to such concessions, as were extorted from him on the late occasion.

He committed another great error, in sending the Chancellor to the parliament, before the resentment of the members had had time to subside. It would have been more prudent, and more becoming the dignity of the court, to have waited patiently for their remonstrances ; and it ought to have been considered that, even if the Chancellor could have reached the Palais without interruption, there was still great reason to fear, that the people might retain him, as an hostage for the safety of the exiles.

Another

Another act of great imprudence was that of putting arms into the hands of the citizens, who, there is reason to believe, would not have joined in the commotion, at least not so universally, but for this circumstance; seeing that individuals, who have something to lose, seldom chuse to proceed to those extremities, thro' fear of rendering themselves conspicuous, whereas they are apt to give a greater loose to their resentments, when they see themselves countenanced therein by the magistrates: and it argues the most consummate ignorance of human nature, to have imagined that the citizens, irritated as they were, and now furnished with arms, would side with the court. The insurrection which happened in the reign of Henry III. should have proved a lesson on this occasion; and, if all the dignity of a sovereign of his age proved insufficient, to restrain the people within the bounds of duty and respect, much less was it to be expected, that this effect should be produced by the presence of a minor King, a Spanish Queen, held by all in contempt, and an alien minister, universally detested.

All that can be said in excuse of this erroneous conduct of the Cardinal's is, that those by whom he was environed, and who sought to obtain preferment through his interest, judged that the best method of making their court to him was by misrepresenting the real state of affairs, and by advising such violent measures, as they knew would be most agreeable to the turbulent temper of the Queen. In fact, the greatest part of the courtiers felt a secret satisfaction in these disturbances, as they hoped thereby to encrease their consequence with the court, and that they should the more easily obtain the reward of their services.

'Tis probable also, that those who held the chief offices in the state would have rejoiced in the Cardinal's ruin, in the expectation that they might succeed to his dignity, and that the Queen would be obliged to throw herself upon their protection: and this suspicion is verified by the conduct of the most apparently impetuous amongst them, who, although they openly gave the most inflammatory counsels, yet secretly held
intelligence

intelligence with some of the members of the parliament, and others of the citizens, and constantly recommended to them to continue firm in the cause in which they had embarked.

The tranquillity, which, for several days past, seemed to be perfectly restored, did not in the least abate that hatred, in which every one held Cardinal Mazarin : his very name was become so odious, that the judges thought proper to make an order, that any person, who gave it to another as a nickname, should be subjected thereby to a prosecution ; which regulation was become necessary, as those persons, to whom this title of reproach was given, were often in danger of their lives, and always of being insulted by the populace ; several instances of which had recently happened. This name fell, at length, into such utter detestation, that the common people made use of it as a kind of imprecation, against any thing which offended them ; and it was very common to see the carman in the streets whipping their horses and calling them “ Bougres de “ Mazarins.”

Another bad consequence resulting from the opprobrious acceptance which this title had obtained amongst the people was, that it became at last a mark of party distinction ; those who sided with the court being termed Mazarins, whilst their opponents bore the name of *Frondeurs* ; and as the whole city was ranged under the one or the other of those classes, hence arose the most virulent domestic dissention ; the father was set at variance with the son, the husband with the wife, and the brother with the sister : but with this difference, that the first of those appellations was esteemed a severe reproach, even by the court partizans themselves, whereas those to whom the latter was given gloried in the distinction.

This term, of *Frondeur*, [a slinger] took its rise from the following incident : during this and the preceding year, the shop boys, and other young people, frequently assembled, in different parts of the city, and amused themselves with slinging stones at each other, in spite of all the attempts of the officers of justice to prevent them. This circumstance the *Sieur Bachau-*

mont, * a counsellor of the parliament, and son of the president Le Coigneux, jestingly applied one day, to the Duke of Orleans going to the parliament, as he often did at that time, purposely to restrain the impetuosity of some of the members, who were accustomed to deliver their sentiments with too much freedom; in which his Highness generally succeeded, so long as he continued present amongst them, but, in his absence, the assembly frequently resumed the consideration of former days transactions, and their decisions thereon often proved very unsatisfactory to the court: upon which the Sieur Bachaumont observed, that the court was likely to succeed no better in its attempts to restrain the parliament, than the officers of justice had in theirs to suppress the disorderly conduct of the [slingers] Frondeurs: so that, from this time, the above title was given, at first, to all those members in general who expressed their sentiments freely, and, afterwards to those only who acted in opposition to the Cardinal; and it obtained so general an use at last, that cloths, ribbons, laces, swords, and all other kinds of merchandize, even bread itself, could none of them be good, unless they were a *la fronde*, and there was no term more expressive, to denote an honest man, than that of "a good Frondeur."

C H A P. II.

The War of Paris.

THE deliberations of the parliament, which had been discontinued during the late tumults, were now resumed; and the first subject of their consideration was certain propositions, relative to the Tariff and the fund of the Hotel de Ville. As the season of adjournment now approached, the parliament, by its own sole authority, continued to sit during the vacations; having, for form-sake only, demanded permission from the Queen, who, with much difficulty granted it, but limited the time

* He was jointly engaged, with M. La Chapelle, in that much-esteemed work, entitled "*La Chapelle and Bachaumont's Voyages.*"

time of their sitting, and even this limitation she afterwards thought proper to contract.

At this season of the year, the Queen frequently attended the King upon short excursions into the country, for the benefit of the air; and, in consequence of this custom, having conducted his Majesty, one morning about six o'clock, from Paris to Ruel, the people conceived an opinion, that there was something mysterious in this journey, which they then looked upon as a preparatory step towards besieging the city; more especially as recent advices had been received, that the troops were approaching, and that they were guilty of great irregularities on their march.

In this situation of affairs, the parliament assembled, on the 22d of September 1648, and petitioned her Majesty to return with the King immediately to Paris, and to remove the troops from its neighbourhood. Many of the members openly accused Cardinal Mazarin as the cause of all these disturbances, and some of them proceeded so far, as to advise a renewal of the edict of 1617, which excludes foreigners from all share in the government of the realm. These violent councils, however, were not adopted, and they contented themselves with adding to their other resolutions, that letters should be written to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, requesting their highnesses to come and take their seats in the parliament.

But the two Princes returned for answer, that they wished to have a conference with the parliament at Ruel; and deputies were accordingly sent, who made fundry propositions on the subject of such matters, as had been agitated in their several assemblies, since the insurrection. As the Sieur de Chavigni had been lately put under confinement, and M. de Châteauneuf, the keeper of the seal, together with the Marquis de la Vieuville, superintendant of the finances, were sent into exile, this circumstance induced the deputies to demand, in the most strenuous manner, some assurance for the public security.

The precise cause of M. de Chavigni's imprisonment never transpired; but the most common conjecture was, that it arose from an accusation brought against him,

him, of having, in revenge for the Cardinal's depriving him of the post of Secretary of State, and bestowing it on M. de Brienne, persuaded the Prince of Condé to join with the parliament: and some said that he had communicated this design, in confidence, to the President Perrault, one of his Highnesses's friends, who betray'd the secret to Cardinal Mazarin, in consequence of which M. de Chavigni was immediately seized, the Cardinal dreading his talents, and his powerful connections with many of the principal persons, both of the court and parliament, through which he might have been enabled to raise a cabal in the cabinet, much more to be apprehended, than all the murmurs of the people, and the remonstrances of the parliament. After various conferences and several journies of the deputies to Ruel, an accommodation took place, and an edict was published, on the 24th of October 1648, by which the King remitted to his subjects the payment of a fifth, on the tallies for the years 1648 and 1649, and suppressed several other imposts: his Majesty thereby engaged, also, that no office, either judicial or financial, should be created, for the term of the four ensuing years; that the officers of the superior courts should not be impeded in the exercise of their functions, either by letters de Cachet or otherwise; and that all prisoners of state should be brought to an examination, in twenty four hours from the time of their being taken into custody. On the publication of this edict, and the King's return to Paris, on the last day of October, the parliament adjourned to the feast of St. Martin.

Those, who had taken an active part in the late insurrection, now perceived, that the court was fully bent on vengeance: and, as they were, moreover, well informed, that the King's return to Paris was owing, solely, to the Duke of Orlean's refusal to consent to the siege of that city, they determined to unite in the necessary measures for their defence.

Several of the most zealous, amongst the counsellors of the parliament, assembled regularly, every afternoon, at the house of one of their brethren, the *Sieur de Longueuil*, where they adjusted the plan of conduct

conduct to be pursued, respecting such matters as were to be brought before the parliament on the following days. Those who attended ofteneft at these conferences were Messrs. de Croissi, Fouquet, Dorat, Quatre-Sous, de Montenelos, the Abbé Amelot, de Caumartin, Le Fèvre, La Barre, and a number of others, some of whom resorted, also, on the same business, to the house of the Sieur Coulon, where Messrs. Bachaumont, son of the president Le Coigneux, Givry, Viarlard, and several officers of the army usually met.

But the chief transactions of the party were carried on at the Coadjutor's palace, by some persons of quality, among whom was the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who was lately returned from the army, full of resentment against the Prince of Condé, who had cast some sarcastical reflections on his conduct at the battle of Lens; asserting, that the first line, of which the Marquis had the command, had given way during the engagement, which was contrary to truth, as they had maintained their ground with the greatest bravery: upon his return, he applied to the court for satisfaction for the affront which he had received, but without effect.

These circumstances, it may naturally be supposed, highly incensed the Marquis, and induced him to enter, with alacrity, into the party of the Coadjutor, as did his friend the Marquis de Laigues, who (it has been already mentioned) had, also, grounds of complaint against his Highness: and, as Noirmoutier was connected with the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville, both of whom, he knew, were much displeased with the Prince of Condé; the latter on account of many injurious insinuations which his Highness had thrown out, respecting her and the Prince de Marillac, he (Noirmoutier) concluded, it would be no difficult matter to enage them in an opposition to the Prince of Condé, and even to the court, with whose conduct, also, the Prince of Conti was much dissatisfied, in the refusal to admit him to a seat at the council board.

The Duke de Longueville, also, who claimed a right of precedence immediately after the Princes of the Blood,

Blood, seeing that the Prince of Condé was rather backward in supporting his claim, was easily prevailed on, by the Dutchess, his spouse, to unite in a confederacy against his Highness. The Dutchess entertained a great partiality for the Prince de Marillac, who, on his side, did not neglect to avail himself of that circumstance, but paid the most assiduous attention to her, well knowing that the ascendancy, which she had acquired over her husband and the Prince of Conti, would give her great weight with the party: and that, whenever the court should be inclined to make overtures of accommodation, he might, through her influence, obtain for himself the most advantageous terms. A plan of operations being, at length, settled, Noisi was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, from whence the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville engaged to march into Paris, in case the court should, as it was already universally reported, they intended, order the Prince of Condé to form the siege of that city. As the Coadjutor had, for some time past, conceived a violent passion * for the Dutchess, this promise proved doubly grateful to him, both as it regarded the state of public affairs, and as he hoped to derive from thence more frequent opportunities of advancing his suit, and, perhaps, in the end, to supplant the Prince de Marillac, whom he considered as his rival.

In the mean time, the Coadjutor urgently solicited the Prince of Condé, also, to enter into the association, and he has constantly affirmed, that his Highness had given him a positive promise of his concurrence, and that two meetings were held, at the house of M. Broussel, at which both parties renewed their former engagements. But the Prince has always denied the truth of this assertion; and, indeed, there appears great reason to believe, that what passed on those occasions were such general professions, only, as would bear an extensive interpretation, and from the observance of which a man may easily release himself, whenever he thinks proper.

It

* Some have maintained that this story is a fiction.

It is certain, however, that his Highness at this time, waivered much in opinion, whether he should follow the advice of Chatillon, who persuaded him to join the party of the Frondeurs, or whether he should adopt the counsel of the Marshal de Grammont, who strongly pressed him to continue his connection with the court. To say the truth, the matter was well worthy of consideration: he, at length, determined in favour of the court, in hopes that he should command the cabinet and be the arbiter of the Cardinal's fortune, whom he might even sacrifice to the people's resentment, whenever he should be inclined to regain their affection, which he plainly perceived he was about to forfeit for a time. Under the influence of these expectations, his Highness made a tender of his services to the Queen, not forgetting to extol his inviolable attachment to her Majesty's interests.

When the queen had thus secured the Prince of Condé, she next turned her thoughts to the Duke of Orleans, to whom she sent the Abbé de la Riviere,* with instructions, to represent to him the great injury
his

* This Abbé, who was afterwards Bishop of Langres, at his death bequeathed 100 crowns to the person who should write his epitaph: here follow two of the number which were written on the occasion.

Monfieur de Langres is dead: and by his last will,
Which you, Sir, have promis'd with faith to fulfil,
A hundred good crowns to the verse-making wight
Hath given, who best shall his Epitaph write:
Then let this inscription his tombstone adorn:
Here lies a great Scoundrel, as ever was born!
Now, as money is good in these ticklish times,
And the task is compleated; pay me for my rhymes.

Another.

Beneath this tomb
are reposed the remains of a great Personage,
descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors:
he possessed a thousand virtues;
he never deceived a human being,
and was replete with wisdom.
To this I shall nothing add;
having already written too many lies,
for the reward of
a hundred crowns.

his interests would suffer, should he permit that Prince to remain alone in his station about the King's person, which would be the infallible means of throwing the whole management of affairs into his hands, to the total exclusion of his Royal Highness, who would thereby be rendered a mere cypher in the state. These, and several similar arguments made great impression on his mind, he being naturally jealous of the views and reputation of the Prince of Condé.

Had his Royal Highness hearkened to the advice of his real friends, or had he examined minutely into the state of affairs, and the disposition of the people, he would plainly have seen, that it was most for his advantage to side with the parliament, and that, by declaring himself in favour of that party, *he* would have obtained the whole management of affairs, and have had nothing to fear, either from the court, or from the two great exaltation of the Prince of Condé. But all men have their foibles, and it is difficult to inspire those with vigorous resolutions, whose tempers are by nature timid. As the Duke, therefore, had, thro' the persuasion of the Queen's emissaries, given his consent to the siege of Paris, the troops advanced for that purpose, from all quarters: but this was not executed so secretly, but that the parliament and the city received repeated intelligence of the design.

The parliament, therefore, met, on the feast of St. Martin, and began to deliberate on the approach of the troops and the non-execution of the King's edict, of the 24th of October, which obliged the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, to repair, in all haste, to the assembly; and the latter, on one occasion, spoke and acted with so little reserve, (interrupting the President Viole in the midst of his harangue, and making a motion with his hand, as if to intimidate him,) that a general ferment arose among the members, and his Highness, finding that this conduct had produced a very different effect to what he intended, delivered himself, on the next day, with much more temper and moderation. The remembrance of the late insurrection operated so powerfully on the Cardinal's mind, that he, for some time, used every endeavour

endeavour to dissuade the Queen from undertaking the siege: he was, further, induced to oppose this enterprise, by the consideration, that, whilst its failure would expose him to certain danger, he could not expect to derive any advantage to himself even from it's success; but, on the contrary, that he should, thereby, be reduced to a state of dependence on the Prince of Condé; a situation which he dreaded more than any other: and it is highly probable that, had he been permitted to rule, the design would have been laid aside: but the Queen's impetuosity, and the insinuations of the courtiers, who scrupled not, openly, in her Majesty's presence, to impute his refusal to timidity, at length compelled him to yield to the torrent, and to trust the event to fortune: more especially, as the *Sieur Le Tellier* positively affirmed, that the city would not hold out beyond a fortnight, and that, in case their usual supply of bread, from *Gonesse*, should fail them for two or three market-days only, the citizens would throw themselves upon her Majesty's mercy, and submit to whatever conditions she should think proper to grant them.

The court now began, in earnest, to make preparations for the siege, on the subject of which many consultations were held, but they did not come to any decisive resolution for some time. The Prince of Condé and the Marshal de la *Milleraie* advised, that the King should take up his residence at the Arsenal, and that they should seize upon the gates of *S. Antoine*, *S. Bernard*, and of the isle of *Notre Dame*. Had this advice been pursued, Paris would, doubtless, have been thrown into the utmost confusion, and it would have proved the most probable means of reducing that city by force. But Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was apprehensive lest, if that counsel should be adopted, he might not be able to make a secure retreat, in case of necessity, proposed that the court should retire from Paris into the country, which was agreed to. Accordingly, on twelfth-day 1649, at two o'clock in the morning, the King and Queen, accompanied by the Duke of *Anjou* and the Cardinal, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Marshal de
C 5 Villeroi,

Villeroi, the Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, and several other persons attending the court, passed through the gate of La Conférence in their way to St. Germain's the inhabitants remaining totally ignorant of their departure till day-light.

As soon as the news of this desertion came to the ears of the citizens, they immediately gathered together, and, without any regularity, seized upon the gates of S. Honoré, La Conférence and several others. The parliament, also, instantly assembled, although it was a holyday, and, being informed that the court had left a letter, addressed to the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs, they sent a message to those magistrates, desiring to be informed of its contents. The letter was brought to them and contained, in substance, that the King had been compelled to retire from his faithful city of Paris, in order to shelter himself from the machinations of certain members of the parliament, who, after repeatedly setting his authority at defiance and abusing his lenity towards them, had, at length, carried their audacity so far, as to form a conspiracy to seize his person, and to enter into a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the state: that his majesty had deigned to give them (the magistrates) this information, commanding them, in the most express manner, to use all diligence in the execution of their office, that the tranquillity of the city might receive no interruption; his Majesty reserving to himself to acquaint them with his further pleasure, as occasion should require.

Had this letter pointed out, by name, those who were meant to be accused, it might, possibly, have produced some effect: but as this circumstance was omitted, and as the article of the treasonable correspondence was universally known to be a mere fiction, it made a very slight impression on the minds of the members: and some other letters, which had been left by the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé were treated with a like disregard. The parliament, therefore, without paying any attention to the abovementioned letters, ordered, that the citizens should guard all the gates; that guard-houses should be established,

tablished, wherever the public security might require; and that, in case of need, the entrance of the streets should be blocked up with the chains: at the same time, also, they gave instructions to the lieutenant-civil and the other officers of the police, to take care that the city was well supplied with provisions, and to oblige the soldiers to quit all the towns and villages within twenty miles of Paris; they prohibited, also, all the neighbouring places from receiving garisons.

A separate letter was sent to the Coadjutor, commanding his attendance at St. Germain's, which injunction he pretended a willingness to obey: but, as he passed by the new market, some of his partizans stopped his coach, and conjured him not to abandon the city, but to continue his protection to the people in the present critical juncture: with which he made but little difficulty to comply, being fully satisfied that he should be much more safe at Paris, than at St. Germain's.

On the next day, January 7, a lieutenant of the King's guards brought two letters de Cachet, one of which was addressed to the King's council, the other to the parliament, and delivered both of them to the former. They immediately went to the Palais, with the letter for the parliament, and acquainted the court that, from the letter which was addressed to themselves, it appeared to be the King's pleasure, that the parliament should remove to St. Germain's, * there to attend his Majesty's orders. Upon this information the parliament resolved to return the letter which was intended for them, unopened, and to proceed to the consideration of that which had been received, the day before, by the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs: they, also, ordered that the King's counsel should wait upon her Majesty, at St. Germain's with a request, that she would be pleased to acquaint the parliament with the names of those persons, who had dared thus
to

* The first President Molé, tho' leagued with the court, spirit-edly observed, on the occasion, that he was not the first President of Montargis, but of Paris.

to calumniate them, that they might be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law.

The King's counsel went, in consequence, to St. Germain's, but were not admitted to an audience; her Majesty sending them word, that it was too late now to make proposals, and that they should not be permitted to lie at St. Germain's that night. However, as it was nine o'clock in the evening when they received this message, and as they must have ran a manifest risque of their lives, had they attempted to return to Paris at so late an hour, they remained where they were till the next day; but, to comply, as far as possible, with her Majesty's intentions, without going to bed.

Would the Queen have granted these persons an audience and dismissed them in a gracious manner: and would she, instead of accusing the parliament in general, have brought a charge, no matter whether well or ill founded, against some of the individuals only, it is highly probable, that the subsequent union of the whole company would not have taken place, as many of the members began to be dispirited, and to dread the consequences of a siege.

But when the parliament perceived, by this haughty answer, that matters were now come to extremities, they, on the 8th, issued a most furious edict against the Cardinal (who was, therein, charged with being the sole author of all the evils with which the kingdom was afflicted) enjoining him to quit the court in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in a week, and, in defect of his compliance, commanding all loyal subjects to attack him personally, with a strict prohibition against any one's affording him shelter.

In consequence of a second letter, which the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs had received, commanding them as if it were in their power so to do, to exact obedience from the parliament, another edict was issued, on the Saturday morning, for establishing a fund, to be applied to the purpose of levying troops. This measure proved so successful, that upwards of four millions [of livres] were subscribed in a short time, the parliament and the other courts having assessed themselves, each at a certain quota.

'Till

'Till now all those counsellors, who were admitted at the last nomination, in the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu, had derived little benefit from the possession of their offices, as the presidents never gave them briefs, and very seldom asked their advice; which rendered it very difficult for them to find persons willing to take them off their hands. The *Sieur Boyle-fire*, canon of the church of *Notre Dame*, who held one of these offices, judged this a fit opportunity to attempt a remedy to the disadvantages which himself and his brethren laboured under: he, therefore, proposed that they should subscribe, each 15,000 livres, over and above the sum at which they were assessed as members of the company, on condition that they should be set upon the same footing with the rest of the counsellors. This proposal was accepted, and, the money being paid, all distinction between them and the other counsellors ceased from that time: except that, from the circumstance of their number (twenty) and the additional sum, (15,000 livres) which each person subscribed, they obtained the nick-name of "the Quinze-vingt."*

As soon as it was known that there was money in the public treasury, many of the military officers and persons of quality, made a tender of their services to the parliament and the city. The first who offered himself was the *Marquis de Boulaye*, induced thereto, perhaps, by the consideration of his having a suit at that time depending before the parliament. The *Duke d'Elbeuf*, with his sons, quickly followed, and was appointed commander in chief of the King's armies, under the authority of the parliament: whence, he acquired such great credit, that, for some days, he appeared to be the absolute master of the city. No sooner did he become sensible of his power, than he wrote a letter to the Queen, requesting her Majesty to honour him with her commands in the present conjuncture of affairs, which, he easily perceived, could not be of long duration.

In

* This is allusive to an Hospital in Paris, entitled the *Quinze-Vingts*, for 300 blind people.

In fact, upon the arrival of the Prince of Conti, the Duke de Longueville, the Prince de Marillac, and the Marquis de Noirmoutier, from St. Germain's, the Duke d'Elbeuf's authority became instantly eclipsed, and his command, in spite of all the opposition he could make, was transferred to the Prince of Conti. He still, however, retained sufficient power, to have created much disturbance; and it is certain, that every thing was so entirely at his disposal for one whole day, that, had he been conscious of his own strength, and of the distrust which every one entertained of the Prince of Conti, he might easily have driven his rival from the city. But the Coadjutor, who had now acquired a considerable degree of confidence with the people, declaring that his Highness and the Duke de Longueville had been secretly engaged in the party for a long time past, and that they had never consented to the King's departure from Paris, all which was corroborated by the President de Novion, to whom the Coadjutor had entrusted the secret, his Highness's appointment to the chief command was ratified by the public voice. The Dukes d'Elbeuf and de Bouillon, together with the Marshal de la Mothe-Houdancourt were constituted Lieutenants-General, with an equal authority, which they were to exercise alternately; with this distinction only, that the Duke d'Elbeuf should first enter upon the command, and that he should have precedence of all the other members of the council of war, which was daily held at the Hotel de Ville, where the Prince of Conti had purposely taken up his residence, to efface any ill impressions which the people might still entertain of his fidelity. For the like reason, the Dutchess de Longueville, also, fixed her abode at the same place; which now became of general resort; and the levees, which were held there every night, were constantly attended by the gentlemen of the law and of the army, as also by the Coadjutor, who was influenced thereto by *private* as well as public motives. During this time, the Dutchess de Longueville was brought to bed of a son, to whom the corporation of Paris stood sponsors, giving him the name of Charles-Paris. In the mean time, the Duke de Longueville

gueville departed to his government in Normandy, judging it would be a degradation of his rank, to accept of a command amongst the other Generals. The Dukes de Chevreuse, de Luines, and de Brissac; the Marquisses de Vitri, de Fosseuse, and de Silleri, with many more of the nobility, also, made a tender of their services to the parliament and city, which was readily accepted.

The Duke of Beaufort, likewise, took this occasion to come to Paris, where he was received with the universal acclamations of the people, who, in the end, placed no real confidence in any one, but him and the Coadjutor, with whom he formed a close connection. Till now the Coadjutor had had no seat in the parliament; but this privilege was conferred on him on the present occasion, in the absence of the Archbishop of Paris, his uncle, the 21st of January 1649.

Hitherto, few enterprizes of any consequence had been undertaken on either side. The citizens had seized upon the Bastille only, of which M. Broussel was appointed governor, and his son, the Sieur de Louviers, a Lieutenant in the guards, Lieutenant-Governor. On the other hand, the Prince of Condé, who commanded the King's army, had made himself master of the important posts of S. Cloud, S. Dennis, and Charenton, the latter of which he, however, evacuated in a short time afterwards. The parliament was constantly occupied in procuring supplies of provisions, and in raising a fund for the payment of the troops; and various edicts were issued, for the seizing such monies as the collectors of the revenue might have in their hands, as also all effects belonging to Cardinal Mazarin or his partizans; and offering a reward, of one third of the produce, to all persons making discoveries of such effects. Although no great sum was raised by these methods, the troops still continued to receive their pay: and the Coadjutor raised a regiment of cavalry at his own expence, the command of which he gave to the Chevalier de Serrigni, his relation, and called it the regiment of Corinthians, from his own honorary title of Archbishop of Corinth.

This

This circumstance, of a Priest's raising troops, gave much offence to some, and the event proved rather unfavourable to the Coadjutor: for the Chevalier de Serrigni, having made a sally with his regiment, and engaged a party of the enemy, was worsted by them; and this misfortune gave rise to much sarcasm among the people, who termed it "the first defeat of the Corinthians." The officers soon compleated their regiments, and so great was the general zeal, that the parliament's army, in the course of a few days, amounted to upwards of 12,000 men; but they were mostly bad troops, particularly the cavalry, which had been raised in haste by those who kept coaches, according to the parliament's orders; and, from this incident, the Marquis de la Boulaye, who was General of the cavalry, acquired the nick name of General of the "*Portes Cochères*." *

Although the King's army was less numerous than that of the parliament, not amounting to more than ten or eleven thousand men, yet the deficiency of number was fully compensated by the superior goodness of the troops. An expedient for raising forces was proposed to the parliament and city, by the Duke de Bouillon, which, had it been adopted, would have proved far more serviceable, and much less expensive than the method which was pursued upon the occasion. This expedient was, to send 500,000 livres to M. de Turenne, the Duke's brother, to be distributed by him among the German troops which he commanded, thereby to engage them in the service of the parliament. M. de Turenne and most of the general officers were much inclined to accede to such a proposal; but the court did not allow them time to carry their designs into execution, having sent a sum of money to the army by the Sieur d'Herlac, who found means to secure several of the foreign officers in the King's interests, particularly Colonel Rosen, the avowed enemy of M. de Turenne, who, together with his friends, were thereupon obliged to retire from the army; which would
not

* *Portes Cochères* signifies the gates of the hotels for the admission of coaches.

not have happened, had the aforesaid proposal of the Duke de Bouillon been accepted.

But the number of those, who were corrupted by the court, both in the city and parliament, was so superior to that of the real friends of the public, that it is not at all extraordinary the latter should be precluded from rendering any considerable service to their country during the war. In the mean time, all sorts of diversions went on as usual at Paris: scarce a day passed which did not produce some ballad, reflecting on Cardinal Mazarin, most of which were very ingenious, and in the manner of M. de Marigni. Scarron, also, wrote his Mazarinade at this time, and there appeared such a number of scurrilous publications, in some of which even the Queen herself was not spared, that the parliament was at length obliged to forbid the sale of them. But this injunction could not prevent the publication of these libels; and the Queen was become the object of such universal contempt, that the common people, in speaking of her, never used any other title, than that of "Madam Anne." This freedom of speech was one of those things, which contributed the most to keep up the people's resentment against the court, and to abate their vexation at seeing that nothing of consequence had as yet been performed by their leaders.

However, the Duke of Beaufort now undertook to open the communication with Corbeil, and, for that purpose, put himself at the head of a numerous body of the citizens, who threatened to do wonders; but when they had reached Juvifi, intelligence was given them, that a detachment had marched from St. Germain's, to intercept them on their return, which damped their courage so much, that they hastened back to Paris with all speed. The Duke was more successful on a subsequent occasion: for having made a sally, with three hundred horse, in order to facilitate the entrance of a considerable convoy, which the Marquis de Noirmoutier, was conducting from Etampes, and which had been driven back by the King's troops as far as the village of Vitri, he (the Duke) came up with the enemy at the entrance of that village, and attacked them so briskly, that he compelled them to retire, and thereby

thereby saved the convoy from falling into their hands. It has even been reported, by some, that he killed M. Nerlieu, who commanded Cardinal Mazarin's regiment, with his own hand; but others have asserted that Nerlieu was killed at the distance of fifty paces from him.

This day was productive of much glory to the Duke: not only with respect to the above-mentioned success, but, also, as the citizens, when they heard he was engaged with the enemy, immediately, of their own accord, ran to arms, and, in less than an hour, 30,000 of them marched out of the city, among whom were even several women, carrying swords, halberds, spits, &c. and when he returned to the city, in the evening, all the streets thro' which he passed were illuminated, and resounded with repeated shouts of "Long live the Duke of Beaufort!"

The Marquis de Noirmoutier had conducted another convoy to the city, through the valley of Grosbois; but this enterprize was executed with difficulty, as the troops which he had stationed, to cover the passage of the convoy, had quitted their posts to attack some squadrons of the enemy. On this occasion the Marquis de Silleri was taken prisoner, and the Prince de Marillac, together with the Count de Roian, were dangerously wounded.

Another convoy arrived, soon afterwards, which was so numerous, that the waggons continued passing into the city for the space of two days and nights, without intermission. On this account, an almost general sally was made, from the gates of S. Dennis and S. Martin, and the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who had the chief management of this convoy also, advanced as far as Dammartin, as did also the Marquis de la Motte to Gonesse: but the whole was conducted very badly.

The Marquis de la Boulaye, also, at different times, escorted some small convoys to the city; and, although he was not held in much estimation by the army, he had acquired a considerable degree of favour with the people.

At length, the Generals determined to encamp the greatest part of the troops at Villejuif, and to canton the rest in the adjacent villages: placing a strong body
of

of them in the neighbourhood of the gate a l'Anglois for the security of a bridge of boats, which had been thrown across the Seine.

These were the chief exploits, performed by the parliament's troops, during the Siege: and those of the King's army were little more material. After the Prince of Condé had taken Lagni and Brie-Comte Robert, he attacked Charenton, which was strongly garrisoned, it being, a post of the utmost importance to the city, whose subsistence depended, in a great measure, on their keeping possession of it. The Marquis de Clanleu, who commanded the place, rejecting all offers of quarter, was killed, together with many other officers of note: and scarcely any of the survivors escaped being made prisoners, except the Marquis de Coignac, grandson of the Marshal de la Force, who after behaving in the most gallant manner at the head of his regiment, saved himself on some floating ice, on which he arrived at Paris. The assailants, also, lost a considerable number of men: amongst whom was the Duke de Chatillon, who was killed by a cannon-shot, and whose death was much lamented by all parties.

'Tis true that the Parisian Generals marched out to the relief of the place; but the Prince of Condé had posted his army, consisting of seven or eight thousand men only, so advantageously, that they did not chuse to hazard an engagement, with their new troops, the Coadjutor, alone, being of a contrary opinion; who appeared, on this occasion, with pistols at his saddle-bow and other warlike accoutrements, to shew that the character of a gallant man was not at all incompatible with that of a priest.

The loss of Charenton, although it was evacuated two days afterwards, threw the party into great consternation, and contributed not a little, to create in the parliament an inclination for peace. Those who were in the court interest now assumed fresh vigour, as appeared from an intercepted letter, from the Bishop of Dole, to Cardinal Mazarin, containing an ample detail of the state of affairs. In this letter it was mentioned, that the Bishop of Glandêve, who was the Queen's confessor, and was formerly known by the name of
Father

Father Faure, together with M. Delaune, a Counsellor of the Chatalet, were assiduous in their endeavours to serve the court; that the parliament was willing to accept of a peace on any terms, and that the Generals of the army, also, were well disposed to the measure. In consequence of this discovery, the parliament set a guard over the Bishop of Dole; but excused the Bishop of Glandève therefrom, on account of his residing in the convent of the Cordeliers, of which fraternity he was a member. Orders were also issued for seizing M. Delaune, but he, having received timely information of the design, escaped to St. Germain's. Several other letters were, also, intercepted, which, though they had no signature, were known to come from some of the officers of the parliament. This business made a great noise at first, but was finally hushed up: the affair also of the Chevalier de la Valette, a natural son of the Duke d'Espèrnon, who was apprehended in the act of scattering inflammatory hand bills about the streets, during the night, was suffered to subside in the same negligent manner.

Some few days before, the court depending on the intelligence which had been received from its emissaries at Paris, had sent a herald at arms, with letters for the parliament, the Prince of Conti and the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs. When the Herald arrived at the gate of S. Honoré he sounded his trumpet; and the officer * on guard, before he would permit him to enter the city, sent notice of his arrival to the parliament. After many debates, it was at length determined, neither to grant the herald a hearing, nor to receive the letters, but to send the King's Council to St Germain's, to acquaint the Queen, that their refusal arose solely from the respect they bore her Majesty;

* This officer was the son of the President de Maisons, and a Counsellor of the Parliament. At the Herald's approach, he refused him entrance: the Herald laid down the letters at one of the city-gates. The officer went himself to give information to the parliament. I have heard Cardinal de Retz and my father say, that the arguments, on this occasion, were the most eloquent they had ever heard, and that the sincere respect, which all parties demonstrated for his Majesty, plainly evinced, that the Cardinal was the sole object of their resentment.

Majesty ; that they humbly conceived that heralds were never sent but to sovereign princes and to enemies ; and that, as they utterly disclaimed the latter title, they beseeched her Majesty to inform them of her will from her own mouth ; giving her, at the same time, the strongest assurances of their loyalty and affection to the King.

This was precisely what the court wanted, as an opening to a negociation, which they had long sought ineffectually ; and there is some reason to believe, that the whole transaction had been concerted, between the court and its agents in the parliament, to answer the above mentioned purpose. The Queen profited also of the occasion, and sent a message to the King's Council, upon their arrival at St. Germain's, that she was well pleased with the assurances which the parliament had given her of their loyalty, but that she wished to see some proofs of it ; after which they might depend on receiving from her the most convincing marks of her good intentions towards all persons without exception.

In consequence of this gracious answer, the Parliament adopted a conduct, which proved highly satisfactory to the court. The arrival of another herald,* whom the Arch-duke, Governor of the Low Countries, sent at this time, with letters for the parliament, contributed, also, not a little to produce this change ; as the court emissaries dexterously availed themselves of this circumstance, to shew that there were persons who carried on a dangerous and treasonable correspondence with the Spaniards. In fact, this envoy had remained concealed in Paris for upwards of a fortnight ; during which time, some of the members, among whom the President de Believre and M. Longueil were chiefly suspected, were employed in drawing up forged credentials,

* The Arch-duke never sent any herald ; and the truth is, that the whole was a scheme, concerted between the Marquis de Laigues and the Dutches de Chevreuse, to throw an odium on Cardinal Mazarin, by proposing a general peace. The uniform which the Herald wore, and which was the same as the Arc-duke's, was made for the purpose, at Paris.

tials, which he was to produce, as authentic, to the parliament.

Be that as it may; when this man demanded an audience of the parliament, a great debate arose, whether it should be granted him: it was, at length, carried in the affirmative, and, after exhibiting his credentials, he was admitted to a seat in the assembly. He went by the name of Don Joseph Illescas Arnolphini, a man of no great note, but of good parts. The Dutchesse de Chevreuse, who was then at Bruxelles, had pitched upon him for the purpose, and had instructed him to confer chiefly with the Coadjutor, and those of the party in whom she placed the most confidence. In his harangue to the parliament, he observed, that he could not doubt of a welcome reception, as he brought with him proposals for a general pacification; an event so earnestly wished for by all the christian world; that Cardinal Mazarin had refused to coincide in that measure, at the congress at Munster, although the terms offered were very advantageous to France; but that, since the King's departure from Paris, he (the Cardinal) had proposed other articles, very favourable to Spain, that he might be in a condition to chastize the rebels and to reduce the city to reason; that his Catholic Majesty had judged it neither safe nor honourable to accept of such propositions, from a man who had been declared an enemy to the state, by the parliament, where all treaties must be ratified, in order to acquire validity; that his royal master had, therefore, sent him, with instructions to acquaint the parliament, that he willingly submitted it to them to appoint any place, even Paris itself, where he might send plenipotentiaries, to treat with a deputation from their body, on the terms of a peace between the two crowns; and that he was empowered to offer to the parliament, in the mean time, the entire disposal of his master's troops, to be commanded, if they should think proper, by French officers; furthermore declaring that, in case the parliament should have no occasion for the service of those troops, they should remain in total inaction, on the frontiers, during the whole time of the congress.

This

This speech, and the report of the King's council, of what had passed at St. Germain's, by which it was succeeded, occasioned a consultation; wherein it was decided, that a certain number of their body should be deputed to St. Germain's, to return her Majesty thanks for the favourable reception she had granted to the King's council; to request that she would be pleased to order the blockade of the city to be raised; and to deliver to her Majesty a copy of the Arch-duke's letter; acquainting her, at the same time, with the purport of the envoy's speech, on the subject of which they had refrained from deliberating, till her Majesty should make known to them her pleasure, with which they should be ever ready to comply, and to approve themselves faithful subjects to the King.

A deputation was therefore sent to St. Germain's, consisting of the first President, the President de Mesmes, and a certain number of members from each of the courts; and it was agreed, by both parties, to send commissioners to Ruel, who should be invested with full powers to conclude an accommodation; and her Majesty engaged that, as soon as the parliament should ratify this agreement, the communications should be opened for the free introduction of provisions.

This agreement was readily confirmed by the parliament, as the court partizans were very assiduous in their endeavours to disgust the people against the war, by daily proposing new taxes for its support, and by every other art which they could devise. The Frondeurs, on their side, confidently reported, that the Duke de Longueville was in full march, to the relief of the city, with an army of ten or twelve thousand men: but, as the report was never verified, their antagonists made use of the circumstance as an argument of the weakness of the party, and to dispirit its adherents.

The people, however, still manifested a strong disinclination to pacific measures: but certain articles were now agreed to, by the deputies who had been sent to negotiate at Ruel, which were transmitted to Paris, for the approbation of the parliament. Many objections were raised to these articles: particularly that

that the article concerning the parliament of Rouen was very defective ; and that Cardinal Mazarin had been permitted to affix his signature to the propositions. These circumstances created so much discontent among the people, that, when the deputies, at their return from Ruel, went to the parliament, to make their report, a great mob assembled at the Palais, and insisted that the Cardinal's signature should be delivered up to them, that it might be burnt, by the hands of the common hangman ; threatening, also, to sacrifice the deputies to their resentment : and it was with great difficulty that the Duke of Beaufort, at length, pacified them.

Another consultation was, therefore, entered on, though strongly opposed by the first President and the President de Mesmes, which ended with a resolution, to send the deputies again to Ruel, with fresh instructions, relative to the demands of the general officers, who, also, deputed some members of their own body, with strict orders not to suffer the treaty to be signed by Cardinal Mazarin.

At the breaking up of this conference, which had continued from morning till night, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort were obliged to accompany the first President, in order to protect him from the fury of the populace. A Lettre de Cachet, concerning the affair of the generals, which was sent just at this time, only served to encrease the ferment, and to produce further demands from the parliament, for an alteration in the article respecting the Paulette, and some others.

In the mean time, as the generals had sent the Duke de Brissac and the Count de Maure, as their agents, to Ruel, and had, apparently, reduced all their demands to the single point of the Cardinal's removal, the parliament's deputies were instructed to insist particularly upon that article ; and, had the generals been as much in earnest as they seemed to be, they would, doubtless, have obtained this demand. This conjecture is the more probable, as the Arch-duke, to whom the Marquisses de Noirmoutier and de Laigues had been sent, by the Frondeurs, had at length marched into France, with

with the Spanish army; and had written to the Prince of Conti, that, notwithstanding he had taken this step, he was still ready to listen to proposals for a general peace, and that he would stop his march whenever deputies should be appointed for that purpose. This letter was laid before the parliament, who ordered that her Majesty should be made acquainted with its contents, and there the whole affair rested. If the Spaniards had adopted this conduct sooner, they would certainly have reaped great advantages from it: but, in the present state of affairs, it only served to hasten an accommodation between the court and the parliament, both parties being heartily tired of the war.

In short, the court, having succeeded in its attempts to sow dissention in the parliament, now put in practice every art to seduce some of the generals also. With this design, a private negotiation was opened, with some of the leaders, and the following terms were at length agreed to: that the Prince of Conti should have a seat in the privy council, and a government; that the Duke de Longueville should be nominated to the government of Pont-de-l'Arche; that the Duke d'Elbeuf should have a sum of money and a valuable grant of lands in Normandy; that the Duke de Bouillon should receive full satisfaction in all his claims; and that the Prince de Marillac should be created a Duke and Peer; which last article greatly contributed to effect a reconciliation between the Dukes de Longueville and the Prince of Condé. All obstacles to a general accommodation were now removed, and the deputies returned from St. Germain's, with an edict, which was registred on the first of April 1649, by which his Majesty granted a general amnesty to all persons concerned in the late proceedings, and to the marquisses de Noirmoutier and de Laigues, with the Counts de Fiesque, Saint Ibal, la Sauverat and la Boulaye, by name. This edict made not the least mention of Cardinal Mazarin, who still remained, as he actually was, master of every thing, and in a condition to revenge himself, whenever he pleased, of the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, who had always appeared the most zealous and disinterested persons of the whole party.

As neither party derived from the peace all those advantages which they had promised themselves, it brought with it, indeed, a suspension of arms, but intrigues and cabals were continued, on both sides, with as much earnestness, as before. The Frondeurs but ill brooked Cardinal Mazarin's remaining in power, and, as they dreaded his resentment, they most assiduously cherished the public animosity. On the other hand, the Cardinal used every endeavour, to re-establish his credit, trusting to time, to furnish him with opportunities of vengeance: but what disquieted him most was, the great authority which the Prince of Condé had assumed, during the war, of which he much feared the consequences. His Highness, being very unwilling to relinquish the superiority which he had acquired, insisted that he was entitled to it, both by his rank and services; and, although he had no intention totally to destroy the Cardinal's power, he determined to reduce him to a state of dependance and submission. Moreover, as he expected that some of his designs would meet with opposition from the Frondeurs, he above all things sought to ruin the party entirely, or, at least, to humble them, and to deprive them of the public favour, which they now enjoyed without any competitors.

With so great a variety of clashing interests, it could scarcely be expected, that the different parties should agree very well together: accordingly, they often thwarted and broke each others measures, and, sometimes, even without design. The Duke de Candale's arrival at Paris was one of the first incidents which served to revive the popular resentment, as it was the opinion most commonly received, that the court had sent for him purposely to affront the Duke of Beaufort, that it might be seen what effect that circumstance would have upon the people. Some, however, were of a contrary opinion, and maintained that the Duke de Candale's coming to Paris, at this time, was not the result of any preconcerted scheme between the court and him. Be that as it will: this nobleman, walking with some of his friends one evening in the Thuilleries, uttered aloud some sarcastical expressions, respecting the liberty,

liberty, which, he observed, then reigned in the streets of Paris; at the same time, turning into ridicule certain transactions of the war: from all which, though he mentioned no names, it was plain enough to be understood, that the Duke of Beaufort was the person aimed at.

Intelligence of this affair was quickly communicated to the Duke of Beaufort and his friends, who, having learnt that the Duke of Candale was to sup, in a few days, at Renards's garden, at the end of the Thuilleries, * determined to go there at the time, and to retaliate the insult. This project was accordingly executed. The Duke of Beaufort, arriving at the spot where the Duke of Candale was at supper, told him, in a jesting manner, that, presuming on the freedom which then reigned in Paris, he was come to make merry with him. The raillery gave offence; and produced a harsh reply: and the Duke of Beaufort, who waited only for this, laid hold of the table-cloth and threw every thing on the table to the ground. The Duke of Candale attempted to draw his sword, but was prevented by his friends, who plainly saw that his antagonist's party would be an overmatch for them. However, on the next day, the Duke de Candale quitted Paris, with an intention of sending a challenge to the Duke of Beaufort: but the court interfered, and prevented any further consequences. This affair made much noise in Paris for several days, and the

D 2

people

* This Renard was, first, a footman and afterwards Valet de Chambre to the Bishop of Beauvais. As he had, through his master, free admittance to the Louvre, he made it a rule to present a nosegay, every morning, to the Queen, who was very fond of flowers. These little presents were well received, and Renard, in consequence, obtained some favours from her Majesty. Amongst the rest, a spot of ground in the Thuilleries [gardens] was granted him, on which he built a house and fitted it up so elegantly, that it became the resort of the chief nobility. Frequent parties of pleasure were held here; and, sometimes, even conferences on the state of public affairs. Renard caused his picture to be drawn; in which he was represented as a youth, presenting flowers to fortune, to render the goddess propitious. Fortune extends her hand, to receive the nosegay, and, with a smiling aspect, pours a shower of gold into the youth's bosom.

people manifested a firm resolution to support the Duke of Beaufort's quarrel against all opposers.

Another incident, which happened, just at this time, threatened to create fresh disturbances. A boat was sent from the Arsenal, loaded with bombs and grana- does ; but, in passing-down the river, it was stopped, near the Pont-rouge, and pillaged ; the people declaring, as a reason for their conduct, that the boat was designed for St. Germain's, and that a design was formed to besiege the city a second time.

The Duke of Beaufort being taken ill just at this time, some persons did not scruple to assert that he had been poisoned. The people came in crouds, at every hour of the day, to the Hotel de Vendôme to enquire after his health ; and, although his disorder was very slight, the Frondeurs reported that his life was in great danger. In the mean time, orders were given to his attendants, to admit a number of those who came, into his chamber ; several of whom, upon their entrance, seeing him in bed, threw themselves upon their knees, and, with tears streaming from their eyes, offered up their most fervent prayers for his recovery, stiling him their father and their deliverer.

Cardinal Mazarin was fully convinced, from the preceding circumstances, and from the hatred which the people still manifested towards him in their discourse, that Paris was not, as yet, sufficiently safe for him ; he was, therefore, very unwilling to return to that city ; though the Queen urgently pressed him thereto, and the Prince of Condé pledged himself to conduct him thither in perfect security. It has even been said that, to justify this unwillingness, and to shew that his fears were not void of foundation, he sent a waggon, with his arms upon it, which, upon its entrance into the city, was immediately pillaged, by some persons hired for the purpose. In order to give time for the ferment to subside, the Court removed from St. Germain's to Compeigne, all but the Prince of Condé, who went to Paris. Upon his Highness's arrival, the parliament sent a deputation from their body, expressly to compliment him : but their conduct therein gave great offence to the people, who looked upon his High-
ness

ness as the chief author of their troubles ; inasmuch, that, had he staid much longer in the city, his safety must have proved very precarious : but he soon retired from thence into Burgundy, and thus left Cardinal Mazarin alone with their Majesties, heartily rejoiced at being freed from a rival, whose presence had given him so much uneasiness.

The Parisians, also, felt great satisfaction from his Highness's departure, as they testified, on occasion of an affair, which happened soon afterwards, and which made much noise in the city. One Beautou, an Advocate of the Privy Council, was taken into custody, upon a charge of being the author of a performance, entitled, "Remarks on the conduct of the parliament, in sending a deputation to the Prince of Condé:" the court was very zealous in its endeavours to procure the Prince justice in this business, and neglected nothing to bring this innocent man to punishment.

The tendency of this publication was, to shew that the parliament had acted wrong upon the occasion : first, as that court had never, before, paid a like compliment to any person, but his Majesty and the Duke of Orleans ; and, secondly, that as his Highness had been the chief instigator of the siege, and still afforded his protection to the Cardinal ; his return was no subject for joy to them : and then, addressing the Prince himself, the author * foretels, that he will fall a victim to that minister whom he now supports, who will throw him into prison ; his deliverance from which he will, at length, owe to the generosity of those, whom he had causelessly persecuted : which prediction was fully verified in the end.

Had the Prince bestowed that serious consideration on the prediction which it merited, he would not, perhaps, have carried his resentment to so great a height ; and he would have perceived, that the conduct of the court, throughout this whole affair, tended solely to turn the current of the people's vengeance against him. Indeed, his vehemence served only to produce

* The real author was M. Portail, a Counsellor of the Parliament.

produce other writings on the subject, still more offensive, under pretext of vindicating M. Beautou, who, after narrowly escaping being condemned to death, by the sentence of the Chatelet, was, at length, acquitted of the charge by the parliament. M. Beautou was chiefly indebted, for the happy termination of this affair to the Sieur Joli, † a Counsellor of the Chatelet, who now first began to attract the public notice, and, by engaging some of the judges to join with him, in opposing the evil intentions of the rest of their brethren, who were devoted to the court, saved the prisoner from that fate, which must otherwise inevitably have attended him. M. Joli, from a principle of pure generosity, undertook the defence of this man with so much zeal, that he frequently went to him in prison, to instruct him in the conduct he should pursue when brought to an examination: but the unhappy man's reason was so much disturbed by the accident, that, instead of profiting by the advice given him, his own answers, when before the judges, had nearly proved his ruin. Till now, a strict intimacy had subsisted between M. Joli and M. d'Aubrai, the lieutenant-civil: but on this occasion, the connection between them was dissolved, and they even proceeded so far, as to use very harsh language to each other.

Another incident, of a similar kind, happened also much about this time. One Marlot, having printed a very obscene and libellous performance, highly reflecting on the Queen, entitled [*la Custode*] "the Guardian," was condemned to be hanged for the offence: but, as he was leading to execution, a number of Booksellers and Printers' boys, and other persons assembled, attacking the officers of justice with stones, rescued the prisoner out of their hands: several of the officers were wounded; as was, also, M. Grani, the lieutenant-criminal, who commanded them, and who made good his retreat with some difficulty, after being pretty severely beaten by the mob.

All these circumstances greatly surprized the court; and Cardinal Mazarin would, from thence, have deduced

† The Author of these Memoirs.

duced an argument, for the King's delaying his return to Paris: but he was given to understand, that a longer absence might produce incidents of still more dangerous consequences than the preceding, and which might render the return of the court impracticable when it should be most requisite: he was informed, also, that it was necessary to accustom the people to the King's presence amongst them; that there was no method so proper to check their impetuosity, and, finally, that it would be good policy to give a nearer support, to those who were well-affected and wished to see an end to those disturbances.

Induced by these suggestions, the Cardinal, at length, determined to return to Paris, after taking all possible care to guard against the ill-will of the people. His first precaution was, to apply to the Dutchesse de Montbazon, who had an unlimited influence over the Duke of Beaufort, to engage the Duke not to oppose his return, which, by dint of promises, he obtained. He would fain have prevailed on the Duke to go to the court, at Compeigne; but could not succeed. The Coadjutor was less scrupulous, and, with very little difficulty, consented to go to Compeigne, although many of his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from it, as a measure which might prejudice him in the opinion of the people; but he rejected their advice, fancying that, to satisfy the public, he need only declare, on his return, that he went solely to pay his respects to the King and Queen, and that he had no interview with the Cardinal. The truth is, however, that he had a conference with his eminency, during the night, which lasted upwards of three hours.

The next step was to secure the different companies of tradesmen, by means of the lieutenant-civil, the provost of the merchants, and others; and there were even persons employed to distribute money and liquor among the boat-men. M. de Longueil, a counsellor of the parliament, was also employed by the court on this occasion, and a promise was made him of the office of
superintendent

superintendant of the finances, for his brother, the president de Maisons.

Cardinal Mazarin judged, also, that the undertaking some enterprize of consequence might tend to restore his credit. For this reason, the Count d'Harcourt was sent to besiege Cambrai, and the Cardinal himself went there, and distributed presents, of swords, perfumes, gloves, &c. amongst the officers. But all this parade served only to subject him to the public ridicule, more especially as the siege was afterwards raised: so that it was now determined, that the court should return without any further delay: a measure which, although every day's experience proved it to be still more necessary, the Cardinal would never have consented to, had not the Prince of Condé pledged himself for his personal safety.

In the month of August 1649 the court, therefore, returned to Paris. Cardinal Mazarin sat in the coach with his Majesty, and the Prince of Condé rode by the side of it, in order to protect the Cardinal from any insults which might be offered him by the people. Upon occasion of this event, the whole court, being magnificently habited, went in procession, on the feast of St. Louis, from the Palais Royal to the Jesuits church, in the street S. Antoine; his eminency riding, as on the former day, in the King's coach, and the prince of Condé, on horseback, by the side of it. But all this pomp was ineffectual to restrain the people from murmuring; and so manifest was their displeasure, that the Cardinal was well-nigh having great cause to repent of his rashness, in trusting himself amongst them.

In a short time, his eminency had still further grounds for uneasiness, from the threats of the Prince of Condé, to unite with the Frondeurs in his destruction, because he had refused to perform the engagement entered into with the Duke de Longueville, respecting the government of Pont-de-l'Arche. Altho' his Highness made this the ostensible cause of his complaint against the Cardinal, yet he had some other, more essential and personal reasons for his dissatisfaction, which, however, from the nature of them, he could

not

not avow. He was not well pleased with the Cardinal's design, of forming an alliance with the house of Vendôme, by marrying one of his nieces to M. de Mercœur : he was justly irritated by the duplicity of the Cardinal's conduct, with respect to the Principality of Montbeillard ; which he had given his Highness reason to expect, that the King would treat for in his favour, sending, also, M. Hervart, apparently to negotiate the affair ; but, at the same time, secretly instructing him not to come to any determination. In short, every day's experience evinced to him, that the minister secretly counter-worked all his designs, whilst he affected, publicly, to pay him the utmost attention.

On the other hand, the Cardinal thought he had equal reason to complain of the Prince. His eminency could not brook some degrading expressions which the Prince had used, respecting his nieces, saying, that they were not fit matches for persons of honourable descent ; and adding that if the Cardinal offended him, he would oblige Champfleuri, the captain of his eminency's guards, to drag his master by the beard, to the Hotel de Condé : he was very suspicious, also, that his Highness had secretly abetted Jersey in the ridiculous declaration of love, which he had had the temerity to make to the Queen ; and 'tis certain that Jersey was protected by him, although he had been banished from the court for that offence : nor did his suspicions on this subject end here : for he conceived, as did many others, also, who were accustomed to examine more minutely into affairs, that the Prince's motive in counselling Jersey to this attempt was, thereby, to procure the Cardinal's removal, and to fix himself in his place. Each party had other motives to his conduct, than those here specified ; all arising from a desire, in the one, to retain his authority, and in the other, to supplant him in it. However, the sole matter in contention, which appeared to the public, was the affair of the Pont-de-l'Arche, respecting which the Cardinal gave himself very little concern ; all his apprehensions being now nearly dispelled : to verify that proverb of his own nation [*passato il pericolo, se vien gabbato il santo*]

the danger being at an end, health returns and cures the former apprehensions.

This disagreement arose, at length, to so great a height, that the Prince of Condé went several times successively to the Coadjutor's palace, as if to concert measures with him and the Frondeurs, against the Cardinal. Even the Duke of Orleans appeared to have united with his Highness; insomuch that those two Princes were observed one evening, at a supper at the Palais Royal, to be on the most familiar footing, diverting themselves with throwing oranges at each other; and on this occasion, it was particularly noted, that the Prince of Condé, in drinking to the Cardinal's health, added, "à la Riviere," [literally, "to the River"] and this in a tone, which made it doubtful whether he meant to drink, to the health of the Abbé de la Riviere, also, who was present at the time; or whether he intended to insinuate, by those words, that the Cardinal ought to be thrown into the river; it has likewise been asserted that, on the next day, those Princes, in conjunction, sent a letter to the Cardinal, which was superscrib'd, à l'illustissimo Signor Facquino ["to the most illustrious Lord "Scoundrel."]

In this situation of affairs, the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort and the other leaders among the Frondeurs, sent notices to all their friends, to hold themselves in readiness against any sudden emergency. But the differences between the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal were suddenly adjusted: the latter having given the Prince full satisfaction on the affair of Pont-de-l'Arche and promised to him and his friends every advantage which it should lay in his power to procure. The Prince, on his part, engaged, to support the Cardinal with all his interest, and to hold no further connection whatever with the Frondeurs, whom he now again hated more than ever, especially as he clearly perceived that he had offended them.

This accommodation highly irritated the Frondeurs, who loudly complained, that his Highness had treated with them, for the sole purpose of sacrificing them to his interests; and, recalling the idea of his former treachery, they neglected nothing which might render him

him odious to the people, whom they taught to believe that his reconciliation with the Cardinal was an action of the most heinous perfidy towards their party. In fact, as the Prince had been seen publicly with the Coadjutor during the whole continuation of his quarrel with the Cardinal, he could, therefore, bring no plea in justification of his conduct; save that the Coadjutor, in all the conferences which they had had together, proposed such violent measures only, as were very hazardous in themselves, and must have thrown every thing into confusion.

It was imagined, by many, that this re-union of the Prince of Condé with the Cardinal must necessarily prove the destruction of the Frondeurs, and that the court would now put in force the arbitrary authority which it seemed to have, thereby, acquired, and of which it was so jealous: but those, who considered things more maturely, rightly judged, that this constrained reconciliation could not be of any long duration, and that the Italian Cardinal would embrace every opportunity of revenging the affronts which he had received from the Prince, and of releasing himself from that state of subjection to which he was reduced, and by which he had been compelled to grant his Highness all his demands.

In the mean time, Cardinal Mazarin appeared to be occupied solely with forming projects in order to ruin the Frondeurs, thereby amusing the Prince, who wished for that event still more earnestly than he did, concluding that their extirpation would render that of the Cardinal much less difficult. The Frondeurs on their side, were assiduous in seeking the means to support themselves, and to profit of such events as might tend to rekindle the people's resentment.

The imprudence of the court, in taking under its protection the farmers of the salt duties, whom the parliament had condemned to make good the deficiency of the fund of the Hotel de Ville, furnished the Frondeurs with one of those desired incidents. As the proprietors of that fund clearly saw, that their interests were neglected by the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs, who had been gained over by the court, they assembled
several

several times, at the Hotel de Ville, to consider on the measures necessary to be taken in the present state of affairs. At one of these assemblies, it was proposed, by the Sieur Joli, a counsellor of the Chatelet, that they should commit the whole management of their affairs to a certain number of Syndics, to be chosen from amongst themselves; which proposition was immediately adopted, notwithstanding an order from the Chamber of Vacations, prohibiting them from assembling; which they, nevertheless, continued to do every week, sometimes to the number of 500 persons. Those who were chosen to act as Syndics, were Messrs. Charton, president of the court of Masters of Requests, Joli, a counsellor of the Chatelet, Matharel, Labory and des Coutures, secretaries to the King, du Portail, a counsellor of the parliament, Maréchal, an advocate of the privy-council, Delote, and some others, making twelve in all. Their next step was, to fix up printed bills in all parts of the city, requesting the proprietors to meet at the Hotel de Ville. Most of the chief persons amongst them did not attend these meetings, for fear of being remarked, but contented themselves with secretly countenancing those of their brethren, who took an active part upon the occasion.

Neither the court, nor the Frondeurs did, at first, perceive the important tendency of this affair; and several days elapsed before they discovered, that there were few persons, either in Paris or the whole kingdom, who were not, directly or indirectly, interested therein. The court began too late to use preventive measures; and the Frondeurs were, at length, convinced that nothing could be better calculated, than the above incident, to confirm the people in their resentment. The Frondeurs, therefore, now applied themselves to those of the Syndics, who seemed to have the most weight with their brethren, particularly Joli, whose reputation for firmness and zeal, in the cause of justice and of the public, was so well established, that they doubted not, if they could gain him, that they should acquire an unlimited influence over the people. In consequence of an agreement with the Frondeurs, a body of the proprietors went in form, to demand the protection of the
Coadjutor

Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort; and one of the company addressed them in a handsome speech, to which they replied in a most gracious manner, and with repeated assurances of their regard for the public welfare.

To give greater weight to this business, Joli incited the Frondeurs, with whom he now began to be closely connected, to present a petition to the parliament, praying them to confirm the election of the Syndics, which petition should be signed by some of the counsellors, who were interested in the fund. The design of this measure was, that, if the grand chamber, which was totally under the guidance of the first president, should be inclined to attempt any thing against the proprietors, it might be compelled to call a general meeting of all the other chambers. This proposal was much approved, as it tended to cause a meeting of the parliament, which was ardently wished for by the Frondeurs, who foresaw that it would be productive of many favourable incidents; such as the affair of the parliament of Bourdeaux, which had requested that of Paris to concur in an application to the King, for the removal of the Duke d'Épernon from the government of that province. The petition was, therefore, signed by near five hundred of the proprietors; amongst the rest by M. de Loisel, a counsellor of the parliament, who had not the least connection with the Frondeurs, together with Messrs. de Croisi, Fouquet, Daurat, Quatresous, Caumartin, la Barre and Vialar, all counsellors of the parliament also, who were influenced thereto by the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort; and, quickly after the feast of St. Martin, it was presented to the grand chamber, which claimed the sole cognizance of it, altho' the chamber of enquiries had demanded a general assembly of all the chambers, and had determined amongst themselves to confirm the election of the Syndics.

The court had proceeded too far in the affair, and was too deeply interested therein, to retract: instead, therefore, of inclining to satisfy the demands of the proprietors, it adopted a direct contrary conduct, and set every engine in motion, to procure the rejection of their petition; rightly judging, that a compliance with
it

it would tend, inevitably, to take all power out of the hands of the ordinary officers of the city, and to lodge it in the Frondeurs, through their instruments the Syndics. For these reasons, the first president was strictly enjoined, to be diligent in traversing the designs of the party and, at all events, to prevent a general meeting of the chambers. In the mean time, the Cardinal, being desirous of acquiring information of every thing that pass'd in the city, gave written commissions to several persons, empowering them to attend at the meetings of the proprietors and upon all other occasions, and to demean themselves in such a manner, both in words and actions, as they should judge most likely to procure them the confidence of the people, and to enable them to dive into each man's sentiments; commanding them, withal, to make a minute report to him of their conduct, and of whatever intelligence they might gain. The infamy of this transaction was, hitherto unexampled in the French History; and, indeed, it was conducted with such secrecy, that not the least circumstance of it transpired till a long time afterwards. It was observed only, that the first president still firmly oppos'd the meeting of the chambers, although there were several other affairs, of which that of the parliament of Bourdeaux was the principal, which waited for their decision.

However, the proprietors did not in the least relax from their pursuit; and, as they were firmly supported by the chamber of enquiries, the first president was at length compelled, to propose a conference at his house, at which a certain number of deputies from each of the chambers should attend, together with some of the proprietors. This conference was held on Saturday, the 4th of December, at the first president's house, where, besides the deputies, several presidents *a Mortier*, and a considerable number of the proprietors attended. At the beginning every thing went on quietly, the first president having acquainted the assembly, in general terms, that the affair might be easily accommodated, by complying with the demands of the proprietors: but the chamber of enquiries observed, that it would also be necessary to enforce obedience to the intended regulation, respecting

respecting the Syndics, from the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs : a motion was also made, that a small number only of the proprietors might be admitted into the assembly, to set forth their claims ; and the doors being thereupon thrown open, Joli and two others were introduced for that purpose.

Upon their entrance, the first president endeavoured to dazzle them with several specious proposals, which however, contained nothing satisfactory : but Joli replied, that the first step to be taken was to ratify the election of the Syndics, without which, all other propositions must be vain: this being heard by some of the proprietors, who were without, they loudly and repeatedly shouted, " Syndics ! Syndics ! " but the first president being resolute in his refusal to comply with the above demand, adjourned the meeting to the following Saturday. As the members went from the place of meeting, the proprietors addressed themselves to such of them as they knew to be inimical to their interests, reproaching them with the epithets of Traitors, and Mazarins ; and I was witness to some of them being even roughly handled, whilst the greatest part made their escape by different private staircases. In the midst of this confusion, M. de Champlatreux, the first president's eldest son, came up to Joli, and accosted him in very injurious terms, calling him a seditious fellow, and threatening to have him taken into custody for his conduct ; to all which Joli, who now found himself supported by a number of the proprietors, whom this incident had drawn to the spot, replied with equal warmth : after which both parties retired, without any attempt on the side of the former to execute his threats, although several persons stood at a small distance, who had been placed there with that design. This affair gave much cause for speculation to both parties.

Cardinal Mazarin now judged it necessary to take some spirited and rigorous measures against those of the proprietors, who had shewn themselves the most zealous, at late the conference : he therefore resolved to seize the persons of five or six of them, at their next assembly, on the ensuing Saturday, who were to be immediately condemned to death, by certain magistrates bribed for the purpose,

purpose, and to be hung up, on the pallisades of the Palais: the regiment of guards also was to attend, to favour the execution of this enterprize.

It will scarcely be believed, perhaps, that the minister could harbour so violent a design; yet nothing is more certain: and tho' the Frondeurs were not acquainted with it at that time, they came to the knowledge of it afterwards, in a manner, which left them no room to doubt of its reality. They had learnt however, that some grand project was hatching against them by the court; that, on this account the ordinary guard was doubled every day, and that the proprietors were to be made the first object of the enterprize, after which, the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort and all the other chiefs of the party were to be attacked, wherever they should be met with.

This general intelligence was communicated by a person who received it from one of those who were present at the consultation, in which the above measures were proposed and adapted; and, although it was not so explicit as they could have wished, yet it was sufficient to shew them their danger, and to set them on their guard: neither were they at all remiss on the occasion. A meeting was therefore held, at the Coadjutor's palace, at which were present the Marquisses de Noirmoutier, de Fosseuse and de Laigues, and M. Joli; but the whole without the knowledge both of the Duke of Beaufort, the Marquis de Boulaye and many others of the party, whose secrecy they could not depend on; particularly the Duke of Beaufort, who they well knew, concealed nothing from Madame de Montbazon. They were long undetermined what measures to take; rightly judging, that it would be easy for the court, by a sudden and well-concerted enterprize, to frustrate all their schemes and render their condition irretrievable: after many debates, they all joined in opinion, that their immediate safety depended on their disappointing the present evil intentions of the court towards them, and that the most likely method of effecting this would be, to procure a general assembly of the chambers, before the day on which the conference was to be renewed, at the
first

first president's house ; as they made no doubt, but that the court had fixed on that day for the execution of its designs.

The grand difficulty was, to find a pretext, for demanding so early a meeting of the chambers, the Coadjutor made several propositions on the subject, all founded on the basis of his reputation with the people, none of which, however, were adopted. The Marquis de Noirmoutier renewed a proposal, which he had made on a former occasion, for a feigned attack on the Duke of Beaufort or M. Broussel, by persons unknown in the city, or by some of their own party, masked ; which, it was imagined, would produce a general insurrection. But it was remarked, that this project also was liable to objections ; as the party, who was to be attacked, must be previously acquainted with the design, consequently, that neither the Duke of Beaufort nor M. Broussel were eligible for the purpose, for the reason above assigned, the want of sufficient confidence in their secrecy. The Coadjutor, also, offered himself, as the object of a similar enterprize ; but it was very apparent, that he wished not to be taken at his word.

At length, Joli, who had before conferred upon the subject with the Count de Montreson and M. d'Argenteuil, proposed himself as the person to be attacked. He observed, that he was neither sufficiently known, nor esteemed in the world, to expect that the people should take much part in any thing which concerned him, as a simple individual ; but that his quality of Syndic, and the reputation he had acquired amongst his brethren, would, he conceived, stand in the stead of all other advantages, and produce, at least, an assembly of the chambers, through the ferment, which the news of such an attack would infallibly create among the proprietors, who daily attended in crowds at the Palais.

This proposal was readily assented to by the whole company, amongst whom, there certainly was not one, who would have undertaken the same. For the execution of the design, the Marquis de Noirmoutier engaged to procure a gentleman, of confirmed bravery and well adapted to the purpose, named Estainville, who should
fire

fire a loaded pistol at M. Joli, in passing through the streets in his coach, in such manner as should be agreed upon between them ; and the Marquis de Fosseuse promised to furnish Estainville with a very fleet horse on the occasion.

On the Friday night, Argenteuil and Joli went to the Marquis de Noirmoutier's, who lived in the street of S. Merri, in the same house in which Admiral Châtillon was killed, in the massacre, on the feast of St. Bartholomew. Here, in one of the rooms most distant from the street, they found Estainville. In this room they adjusted Joli's doublet and cloak on a piece of wood, fixed in a particular position, one of the sleeves of the doublet being filled with straw, at which Estainville fired a pistol, with such truth, that the ball passed through the very part which it was intended to pierce. After this experiment, it was agreed that the real attack should be made on the next morning, at half an hour after seven o'clock, in the street of the Bernardines, opposite Argenteuil's house, which was but a small distance from that of the president Charton, to which Joli went almost daily.

The scheme was executed, in every respect, as it had been concerted. Estainville rode up to the coach ; Joli stooped, and the balls passed over his head, through the side of the coach, in a direction exactly answerable to the position in which Joli was supposed to have sat in the coach : care had been taken not to have any servants behind the coach, lest they might have prevented the design. Estainville now made off, with all expedition, but with no small danger, as his horse, unfortunately, fell with him. He, however, by several byeways, at length, got safe to the Marquis de Noirmoutier's, from whence he sent back the horse to the Marquis de Fosseuse, who sent it into the country to be poisoned, in order to prevent any knowledge of the affair from transpiring by that means.

Another incident happened, which had nearly ruined the whole project. The paper which d'Estainville had made use of, for wadding, in loading his pistol, was the cover of a letter, which had been addressed to him ; but, happily, that part of it which contained his name

was

was burnt away : the remainder of the paper, together with the balls, which were still quite hot, were taken up by M. Bignon, the advocate-general, who lived in the cloister of the Bernardines : this circumstance contributed greatly to persuade the people into a belief of the reality of the attack.

Directly after this transaction, Joli was conducted to the house of a surgeon, living at the end of the street of the Bernardines, opposite the church of S. Nicolas du Chardonnet, where, upon taking off his cloaths, a kind of wound was discovered on his left shoulder, which he had himself made, the night before, with a gun flint ; so that the surgeon had not the least doubt, but that he had been shot, and he, therefore, laid on the customary dressings.

During this time, Argenteuil was assiduous in his endeavours, to induce a belief, that the court, alone, could have projected this enterprize, in order to get rid of that particular Syndic, who had appeared the most zealous. He went, also, to the president Charton's, who had conceived a notion, that he was the person meant to be attacked ; and, as he had the command of the city-guard in that quarter, he ordered the drums to beat to arms. In the mean time Joli retired to his own house and went to bed.

The news of the above transaction having reached the Palais, the proprietors, accompanied by some of the Frondeurs, ran in crouds to the Tournelle, demanding justice against those who had assassinated Joli, who, they asserted, was killed. On this account, the court, which was then sitting, immediately broke up, and the chamber of enquiries, being much inflamed, hastened to take their seats in the grand chamber. The president de Charton, also, went thither, armed, with his sword by his side, declaring that the enterprize was intended against him, and had been executed at his door ; and his vehemence was so great and unaffected, that he repeated upwards of fifty times, " I say that ! " a phrase that he had acquired through a bad custom, but which, on other occasions, he seldom used above seven or eight times ; being, moreover, a very worthy man, and firmly attached to his friends. The good president carried

carried matters so far, as to demand a guard, for the protection of his person : but, as nobody looked upon the affair in the same light as he did, his demand was eluded ; and he had the mortification to hear M. Viole Douzenceau, clerk of the council of the grand chamber, observe, that he had no objection to granting a guard to the president Charton, but that they ought to be made by a Carpenter. The parliament went no further in the affair this day, than to order, that Messrs. Champion and Doujat, two of their members, should make the necessary enquiries relative to the assassination of M. Joli, and should lay the result thereof before the assembly ; and that they should also inform themselves of the state of his health. The ferment into which this affair had thrown the parliament, induced the Marquis de Boulaye to put himself at the head of about two hundred men, who, passing through the streets, exhorted the citizens to take up arms, assuring them that a counsellor of the parliament, who was, also, one of the Syndics, had been assassinated, at the instigation of the court, and that a similar design had been concerted against the Duke of Beaufort. In this manner, the Marquis went to the houses of several of the chiefs of the Frondeurs, particularly to the Coadjutor and M. Broussel ; but he was very little attended to, some few shops, only, being shut up, in different parts of the city, and the most material consequence which attended this attempt was, that all the bread in the different markets was immediately bought up, at double the customary price.

It must be observed, that the Marquis was totally ignorant of the real state of Joli's affair, and that he had concerted no previous measures with any of the party, except the Duke of Beaufort, who held himself in readiness, with a number of his friends, during the whole morning, to have joined the Marquis, in case an insurrection had ensued.

The members, who had been commissioned by the parliament, to enquire into the circumstances of Joli's assassination and of his health, having been at his house in the morning, repeated their visit in the afternoon, and were very much displeased, that his wound had been dressed in their absence. To satisfy them, therefore, the

the dressings were again taken off, by the physicians and surgeons of the parliament. The Queen had ordered M. Guenaud, * one of the physicians, to bring her an account, in the evening, of the condition in which he should find Joli. He accordingly went to the Palais-Royal, and informed her Majesty, that there could not be the least doubt of the reality of the affair; that he had found M. Joli very feverish, and that the best actor in the world could not push his dissimulation so far, in a case of this nature.

As the Marquis de Boulaye foresaw, that the bad success of his enterprize, in the morning, might be attended with strange consequences, he determined to retrieve his fault, if possible, by an attempt still more hazardous; which was to attack the Prince of Condé on the new bridge, as he returned, in the evening, from the Louvre to the Hotel de Condé. For the execution of this design he assembled between two and three hundred men, in the isle of the Palais and the environs: but the Cardinal, having obtained intelligence of his intention, communicated it to the Prince. To frustrate this scheme, therefore, some of the Prince's domestics, were placed in his own coach, and also in that of M. Duras, which commonly followed it, one of whom was much wounded by a pistol-shot; and it is certain, that, had his Highness been in the carriage, his life would have been in imminent danger.

Many people, however, conjectured that the Marquis de Boulaye had undertaken this enterprize solely at the instigation of Cardinal Mazarin: but this does not seem probable, although the Marquis, during his concealment at the Hotel de Vendôme, afterwards acknowledged to several of his friends, that he undertook it to repair the error which he had committed in the morning; being fully sensible, that the Cardinal would have rejoiced in the Prince's destruction, as he had proposed to him, by

Madame

* This Guenaud is the person of whom Gui Patin makes mention, in his letters. He was physician to the Queen, and a zealous assertor of the virtues of antimony. It was his custom to visit his patients on horseback; which circumstance gave rise to the jest, in speaking of him, to say "Guenaud and his horse." He died in

Madame de Montbazon, so long before as the month of October, to seize his Highness's person, at noon-day, upon the new-bridge.

Be that as it may; the other leaders of the Frondeurs had, doubtless, no share in these two enterprizes, which were planned by other hands, and bore no affinity whatever to Joli's affair. The Prince of Condé, nevertheless, was of a contrary opinion, and he was easily induced to credit all the Cardinal's insinuations on the subject; who represented to him, that this was a fair opportunity to ruin the chiefs of the party; whom the people had plainly deserted on this occasion, and whom the parliament must necessarily condemn, on such evident proofs of a conspiracy.

In fact, for several of the first days, this business seemed to turn out much in favour of the court; and a letter de Cachet being sent to the parliament, on Monday the 13th of December, commanding them to make the strictest enquiries into the affair, as being a dangerous plot against the state, the rest of the week was employed in taking informations, which were kept very secret, and which were communicated chiefly by those commissioned spies, of whom mention has been already made. But as this artifice of the Cardinal's had not as yet transpired, and as even those of the parliament, who were well disposed to the Frondeurs dared not oppose the execution of the orders contained in the letter de Cachet, so general a consternation arose amongst the party, that, had the court pursued its advantage vigorously, it would have acquired a compleat victory over its opponents, and rendered all their future efforts impotent. This panic had risen to so great a height, that the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and the most considerable leaders of the Frondeurs, were on the point of retiring from Paris to Peronne, where they hoped to meet with protection from the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, who was an intimate friend of the Dutchesse de Chevreuse and de Montbazon; but the Count de Montresor demonstrated to them, that this step would inevitably prove their ruin; that it was necessary they should go boldly to the parliament, where they

they had still many friends, and that, by their appearing not to desert their own cause, the people would be induced to support them in case of need.

Having learnt, therefore, that the informations which had been taken contained nothing material, and that they related only to the Marquis de Boulaye, who had withdrawn to the Hotel de Vendôme, they determined to go in a body to the parliament, with the Dukes of Beaufort and Brissac at their head, to counteract the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and several others of the nobility, who appeared there in behalf of the court. The assembly, however, broke up without doing any thing material; the chief business which came on being a petition from Joli, on the subject of his assassination: but the first President opposed its being taken into consideration; which gave rise to such a ferment amongst the members, as clearly shewed, that the popular discontent had not so effectually subsided, as by some was imagined.

This discontent suddenly broke out, with great violence, at a subsequent meeting of the parliament, on the Wednesday following; when, after the informations, already mentioned, had been read, together with the opinion of the King's counsel thereon, it appearing that the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and M. Broussel were therein accused, the first President insisted that those persons should withdraw: but, as the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor were about to obey, one of the counsellors, named Coulon, opposed their intention, and M. Broussel absolutely refused to retire, unless the first President did so likewise; who, he urged, was a party in the affair, having asserted that they had conceived a design to assassinate him. He added, that the President was his mortal foe, and had attempted to ruin him on several occasions; proofs of which he was at all times ready to produce.

The firmness of this good old man quickly changed the face of affairs, and such loud and uninterrupted murmurs arose against the first President, as precluded the assembly from entering into any deliberations on that

that

that day, although the sittings lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till four in the evening. When the news of these transactions was communicated to the people, who were in waiting, in and about the Palais, to the number of upwards of ten thousand men, they manifested great joy on the occasion; and, when the Duke of Beaufort went away, some persons crying out, "hats off! here comes the Duke of Beaufort!" every one instantly uncovered, repeatedly shouting, "God save Beaufort! God save Broussel!" whereas, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé were constantly received, by the generality of the populace, with evident marks of displeasure.

From this day, the Frondeurs, having discovered their strength, neglected no means to cherish the people's discontent, and the favourable disposition of the parliament. For this purpose, they assembled every evening, at the house of M. de Longueil, to concert a plan of operations for the next day, and it was determined, that requests of exceptions against the first President should be presented, by the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and Messrs. Broussel and Joli, founded on that magistrate's personal interest in the affair, several witnesses having deposed, that a design had been formed against his life. These requests produced all the effect which was expected from them; although, as the first President had many partizans, even among those who were totally unconnected with the court, several days were spent in debating, whether they should be received. Exceptions were also presented against the Prince of Condé, who offered thereupon to retire; but this the company would not permit, and the demand was in the end relinquished, respecting him.

At length, as this affair occasioned much delay and confusion, and as the Frondeurs had caused to be printed the grounds of their exceptions, which had contributed greatly to inflame the people's minds, some common friends of both parties proposed, that the requests of exceptions should be withdrawn, and that they should proceed directly to consider the charges contained in the informations, as mentioned above. To induce an

an acceptance of this proposal, they promised the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort and M. Broussel, to extricate them instantly from their dilemma, assuring them, that the accusations against them contained nothing of much consequence. These persons, trusting too easily to appearances, yielded to the proposal, and withdrew their requests of exception: but, as it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of M. Joli also, the Coadjutor, who was very desirous to put an end to the affair at any rate, went to him, in the great hall of the Palais, and endeavoured to persuade him to follow their example. But Joli absolutely refused to comply, alledging, that these offers of accommodation were intended, only to delude them to their ruin; and he therefore instructed Mr. Lainé, in whose hands he had placed his request, to bring it on immediately before the parliament. It was accordingly read, and the objections which it contained against the first President, were found to be so succinct and forcible, that it caused a sudden and universal murmur in the assembly, which put a stop to all business for some time. At length, however, the tumult being abated, the requests of the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, which, upon Joli's refusal, had been returned by those persons to their council, were now read; and it was thereupon resolved, that the first President should leave his seat and go without the bar, to answer to the contents of those requests: this he did in a manner tolerably satisfactory; but he was so much affected by the circumstance, that his eyes were frequently filled with tears, during his speech.

Amongst all the counsellors, M. Daurat, a counsellor of the third chamber of enquiries, distinguished himself the most, by his zeal and eloquence, in support of the requests.

After many debates, it was at length decided, by a very small majority of voices, that the objections alledged against the first President were insufficient, and that he should be permitted to act in his capacity of judge on this occasion: which defeat arose from the caprice and fickleness of some of those, who bore the reputation

reputation of being most attached to the party, amongst whom were Messrs. l'Abbé, Amelot and Bachaumont.

But the Frondeurs compensated themselves, quickly afterwards, for this slight rebuff, by a negotiation which they entered into with Cardinal Mazarin for the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé, with whom they were as much displeased as with the Cardinal himself. Hitherto, the Cardinal had never dared to undertake any enterprize against the Prince, through fear lest he should join with the Frondeurs, and thereby render his ruin inevitable. He had also conceived an opinion, that when, in conjunction with his Highness, he should have subdued that party, it would be easy for him to reduce the Prince himself to submission, by the terror of the King's authority; and it was this consideration which had determined him to begin with the Frondeurs first. But he clearly perceived, from the result of the abovementioned transactions in the parliament, that the party was still too powerful, and that it would be dangerous to carry matters to extremities with them, having learnt, also, that they had sent for a large number of their friends, who kept their arms in readiness against any sudden emergency.

Of this circumstance the Dutchess de Chevreuse, in concert with the Frondeurs, took care to make the Cardinal fully sensible; offering him, at the same time, their assistance against the Prince of Condé, which, with much difficulty, he at length accepted, thereby to release himself from the embarrassment, into which the failure of his late design against them had plunged him, and at once to put an end to that continual uneasiness, which the Prince's too great authority had given birth to in his mind.

The Duke de Richelieu's marriage with the daughter of the Marquis de Vigan, which had been concerted by the Prince of Condé, without the participation of the court, also contributed, not a little, to influence the Cardinal to this resolution: the Prince having himself conducted the new married couple to the house of the Dutchess de Longueville, at Trie, and had dispatched the Duke de Richelieu, on the same night, to
secure

secure the possession of Havre: which the Cardinal judged to be only a prelude to some more important designs.

Things being thus circumstanced, the Cardinal now began, in earnest, to negotiate with the Dutchess de Chevreuse, who immediately gave secret information thereof to her friend the Marquis de Laigues, by whom it was communicated to the Marquis de Noirmoutier. Thus, these two persons, whom the Prince had formerly injured, had now the satisfaction to find themselves, in some sort, the arbitrators of his fate, having been the first promoters of his imprisonment.

However, the Coadjutor was, in the end, the person who had the greatest share in this business, which he at length completed, after several conferences with the Cardinal, at the Palais Royal, whither he always went disguised in the habit of a military officer. The Dutchess de Chevreuse, whose intercourse with the Cardinal was liable to less restraint, took upon herself to negotiate with him the demands of those chiefs of the party, who were responsible for the concurrence of the rest. The terms agreed on were as follow: that the Coadjutor should have a cardinal's hat: that the Duke of Beaufort, altho' he was totally ignorant of this negotiation, which was kept a profound secret, should be invested with the title of admiral: that the government of Charleville and Mount Olympus should be conferred on the Marquis de Noirmoutier; and that the Marquis de Laigues should be appointed captain of the guards.

There now remained nothing further to be done, but to obtain the Duke of Orleans's consent to the execution of this design against the Prince. Nor was this at all difficult; as his Royal Highness, being naturally jealous of the Prince of Condé, readily yielded to the arguments, which the Queen and the Dutchess de Chevreuse used, to convince him, that it was his interest to diminish, by all possible means, the too great credit which the Prince had acquired. They were yet under some apprehensions, lest his Royal Highness should communicate the affair to his favourite the Abbé de la Riviere, who, they knew, was closely connected with the Prince of Condé: but his Royal Highness gave

them the most positive assurances of his secrecy, and it so happened also, that he had lately conceived some displeasure against the Abbé.

During this negotiation with the Cardinal, the Frondeurs secretly entered into treaty with the Prince of Condé also; the Duke de Retz and the Marquis de Noirmoutier being employed on their part, and M. de Chavigni and the Prince de Marillac on the side of the Prince. But his Highness could not be prevailed on to join with them, tho' strongly urged thereto by many of his friends; and he even treated as chimerical the repeated intelligence which he received, of the accommodation between the Cardinal and the Frondeurs, upon a strong presumption that the latter would not so earnestly have solicited a junction with him, had there been any probability of their succeeding with the court; and also, that neither the Queen nor the Cardinal would enter into any measures against him, not only on account of his late services, but likewise in consideration of the present critical state both of domestic and foreign affairs. Besides, her Majesty and the minister, in order to cover their designs, continued to give him and his friends the most flattering assurances of regard. In short, he was very sensible that the court would not undertake any thing against him, without the concurrence of the Duke of Orleans; and as he imagined, that his Royal Highness would doubtless communicate any such proposal to the Abbé de la Riviere, this circumstance contributed, above all others, to blind him to the intentions of his enemies.

Thus, the frequent informations which his Highness received of the Cardinal's nocturnal conferences with the Coadjutor, disguised as a military officer, were totally discredited by him; and he made them a subject of merriment with the Cardinal, who replied, in the same tone, and without the least discomposure, that the Coadjutor would, doubtless, make a fine figure with large rowlers, a plume of feathers, a red cloak, and a sword by his side; and he assured his Highness that he would regale him with the sight, whenever that prelate should take it in his head to visit him in such a garb.

garb. All this was said with such an appearance of freedom and frankness, that his Highness was imposed upon thereby ; but he was on the point of discovering the whole affair a few days afterwards, having entered abruptly into the Cardinal's closet, at the very time that his eminency was dictating to M. de Lionne, the orders for seizing him, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville. Every thing being now determined on, it only remained to carry the design into execution : but such was the wavering and timid disposition of the Cardinal, and so long did he hesitate, in hopes, perhaps, that time might give birth to some incidents, which might relieve him from the disagreeable necessity of proceeding to such extremities, that the Frondeurs were at last obliged to use menaces, in order to procure his compliance : they had even taken some measures with the parliament, against his eminency, which they were resolved to have pursued, in case he had not yielded to their solicitations. Neither did they neglect to represent to him the great danger that there was, lest the Duke of Orleans, who was naturally indiscreet, should at length divulge the secret ; that the Duke had withdrawn himself from the parliament for some days past, under the pretence of a feigned indisposition ; that he openly asserted, that the affair of the informations was a mere mockery, as if purposely to insinuate to the Prince of Condé, that it was needless for him to pursue it ; and that he might possibly speak still plainer, and thereby lead the Prince to suspect the change which had arisen in the disposition of the court : in short, they used such powerful arguments with the Cardinal, that he determined to put the finishing hand to the business, without any further delay. With this view he represented to the Prince, that he had received intelligence that des Coutures, one of the principal persons accused in the informations, was concealed in a house in the street of Montmartre, and that, as he proposed to have him seized in the afternoon, he judged it adviseable, that the gendarmes and the light-horse should be posted behind the Palais Royal, in readiness to subdue any tumult which might arise on the occasion : to which his Highness assented. His Eminency further

further told him, that some advices had been received from Germany, on the subject of which it was necessary to call a council, and that it would be proper for his Highness to acquaint the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville therewith, and to desire their attendance. Accordingly these three Princes came to the Palais Royal, at the usual hour of the council's meeting, and were immediately taken into custody, by M. Guitaut, captain of the Queen's guards, and M. Comminges, his nephew, on the 18th of January 1650, and were, soon afterwards, conducted across the garden to a coach, which conveyed them, accompanied by M. de Comminges, to the castle of Vincennes. They were escorted by a party of fifty horse, one half of which were of the Gendarmerie, and the other of the Queen's guards, commanded by M. de Mioffens, known afterwards by the title of Marshal d'Albret, and M. de Comminges. It was very late when they arrived at Vincennes, the coach having broken down by the way; and the Prince of Condé took occasion, from this accident, to propose to M. de Mioffens to suffer him to escape: but he replied, that his duty to the King would not permit him to listen to the proposal; and M. de Comminges, having overheard the conversation, and observing that the Prince eagerly looked round, to see whether there was any assistance near at hand, he told his Highness that he was ready to oblige him as far as lay in his power, but, in a case where the King's service was concerned, he should listen to no other suggestions than those of his duty, and that, if any attempt should be made to rescue his prisoners, rather than permit their escape, which would render him incapable of giving his Majesty a good account of the commission with which he had done him the honour to entrust him, he would himself poniard them. In spite of this harsh declaration, the Prince of Condé placed such great confidence in M. Comminges, during the first days of his imprisonment, that he would permit no other person to taste the victuals which were set before them. But this lasted but for a short time, as M. de Bar was soon

soon afterwards appointed to guard them, and some of the King's domestics were sent to wait on them.

When the news of this event was communicated to the Duke of Orleans, his Royal Highness exclaimed, "Here's a fine catch! a lion, a monkey, and a fox, all taken at the same time!" the president Peraut, who was the Prince of Condé's steward, was also seized, and several others, who had been doomed to the same fate, withdrew themselves. Of all those who were, in any respect, connected with the Prince, not one was excepted in the general proscription, save the Princess Dowager [of Condé:] but she was, quickly afterwards, exiled to one of her country seats.

During the whole of this transaction, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort remained at the Hotel de Chevreuse, where they had dined. Strict orders had been given, that no person should be permitted to enter the house; as they were employed in writing notices to all the parochial clergy of Paris, acquainting them with the imprisonment of the Princes: and so incautious were they on the occasion, that had some of the persons who were present been curious enough to attend to what was doing, they might easily have come to the knowledge of the contents of those notices, and have given their Highnesses timely intimation of their danger. But the Princes destiny forbad it: and the news of their being seized was brought by Brillet, the Duke of Beaufort's equerry, who had been sent to the Palais Royal, with orders to return as soon as he should have received information of this event, either from the Marquis de Laigues, or de Noirmoutier; this being the first day of their re-appearance at court, whither they came a short time before the seizure of the Princes.

It might perhaps, have been more prudent in these two noblemen to have kept away from the court, on this occasion, as their presence, alone, might have tended to create suspicions, at least, if not a discovery of the design: but the Queen insisted on their being present. They themselves were so desirous of revenge, and of exhibiting also to the world the share they had in procuring the Prince of Condé's imprisonment, that they

they could not resist this opportunity of gratifying themselves : besides the party of the Frondeurs were so well acquainted with the Cardinal's irresolute disposition, that they judged it improper to leave him to himself in so critical a conjuncture.

A report having been circulated, in the city, that some person had been taken into custody at the Palais Royal, without mentioning whom, the people conceived a notion, that the Duke of Beaufort was the person : and, in consequence of this notion, many of the citizens ran to arms, particularly those residing near the markets, and near the gate dauphine. This example would have been generally followed, had not the Queen sent in all haste to the Duke, who had been, together with the Coadjutor, at the Duke of Orleans's palace, from the time that they had received the intelligence from Brillet. The tumult amongst the people was so great, that, to pacify them, the Duke of Beaufort was obliged to ride through the streets, from nine o'clock in the evening till two the next morning, attended by between three and four hundred horsemen, with a number of lighted flambeaux, many of the populace crying out, that the man with the great beard ought to be put to death, meaning the first president, and even laying hold of his horse's bridle, to lead him to that quarter of the city in which the president resided.

During these transactions, some of the Prince's friends, who were assembled at the Hotel de Condé, proposed to sally out on horseback, and to attack the Duke of Beaufort in the streets, in order, by the confusion, to mislead the people, who might be induced thereby to imagine, that the Cardinal had concerted this enterprize ; and indeed, had the affair been well conducted, it might have produced a favourable effect. But the proposal was not adopted, every one being solely occupied with the thoughts of retiring from the city. The Dutchesse de Longueville had set out, early in the night, for Normandy, escorted by the Duke de la Rochefoucault ; at the head of a party of sixty horse. The Duke de Bouillon took the rout of Bourdeaux ; the Viscount de Turenne that of Stenai. and
M. de

M. de Bouteville, who was afterwards created Duke of Luxembourg and a Marshal of France, with some others, that of Burgundy: in consequence of which dispositions, it was judged, that the party of the Princes would, by the next day, have acquired a sufficient degree of strength. The citizens, however, manifested their joy on this occasion by making bonfires in the different parts of the city; and most of them declared, that the Cardinal himself was no longer a Mazarin, after such an action as this.

The affair of the informations was now, therefore, easily decided. All those who had been accused therein were acquitted of the charges brought against them, on terms more or less advantageous, according to the circumstances. The decree which Joli obtained was more favourable than any of the rest; as he was, thereby, not only discharged from the accusation against him, but was permitted, also, to continue the process which he had instituted, in consequence of the feigned assassination. It must be acknowledged, that M. de Champlatreux contributed to obtain this decision: fearing lest, as he had lost the support of the Prince of Condé, advantage might be taken of that circumstance to urge the affair, of Joli's being fired at, against him; which might easily have been effected, by the testimony of two witnesses, whereby he might have been much embarrassed. On this account, he made a proposal to Joli, by the Duke de Noirmoutier, to give him 2000 crowns, to stop all further proceedings; which offer caused those who were in the secret of the assassination to smile, though, at the same time, they suspected that there was some design concealed under it. Joli replied, that he was very ready to accept of the offer, but on condition, only that the whole transaction should be recorded by a notary. But this public method of adjusting the affair was not approved of by M. de Champlatreux; and the matter was, at length, settled in a private manner; M. de Champlatreux engaging that, when the informations against Joli should be laid before the parliament, he and all his relations would quit the assembly, and would take no part whatever in the decision thereon; and Joli, on his

fide, promised, that he would drop the prosecution which had been commenced in his name. He would not have been permitted to have gone on with it, had he been so inclined; for, soon afterwards, the court issued an amnesty, in favour of the Marquis de Boulaye, and of all those who were concerned in the transactions of the 11th of December 1649. [The day on which the feigned attack was made on Joli.]

This amnesty confirmed the suspicions which had formerly arisen, that the Marquis had acted totally under the Cardinal's directions: and this report gained still greater credit, after that minister's death, the Marquis himself plainly insinuating that it was true; altho' he had always, hitherto spoken with much reserve on the subject. But there is great reason to believe, that, in this case, the Marquis was influenced by a desire of exculpating himself from the blame of so strange an action, and of throwing it upon the Cardinal.

The Princes were treated with great harshness during the first part of their confinement; Cardinal Mazarin having committed them to the care of M. de Bar, a man of a savage disposition, who imagined that his ill usage of his prisoners would recommend him to the favour of the court. Their sole consolation, therefore, was the correspondence which, after the third or fourth day of their imprisonment, they contrived to carry on with their friends.

M. de Montreuil, the Prince of Conti's secretary, had the management of this correspondence; and he made use of such subtil inventions, that M. de Bar himself was frequently the agent, by whom he conveyed to the Princes their friends letters. For this purpose, he caused a number of crown-pieces to be hollowed, so as to screw together; and some of these, containing letters, being mixed with other common ones, which were continually sent to the prisoners, to serve them for counters, were often given to M. de Bar, and delivered by himself into their hands. The domestics who waited on them, and even one of M. de Bar's own valets, were often employed in the same manner;

manner; not to mention the many other expedients which were adopted, and for which prisoners are never at a loss.

But all these little stratagems afforded them but small comfort, as the intelligence which they acquired thereby was far from being encouraging: for, although their friends were very active both within and without the kingdom, yet the Cardinal was always so fortunate as to discover their designs, and that frequently, by means of the Frondeurs. For this reason, his eminency, at first, conducted himself towards that party with the most flattering civility: but, his successes having rendered him too vain, he afterwards treated them with such neglect, as compelled them to take those measures, which restored the Princes to their liberty, and produced a confederacy against him, which was almost general.

The first step which the Cardinal took, respecting the Princes, after their imprisonment, was to send a declaration to the parliament, which was very badly drawn up, containing the reasons for adopting that measure. This declaration would not have produced its desired effect, had not the replies made to it by the Prince's friends been conceived in still worse terms than the piece itself.

He next conducted the King and Queen to Rouen; at whose approach the Dutcheſs de Longueville retired from thence to Dieppe, then into Flanders, and from thence ſhe went to join the Maſhal de Turenne at Stenai. The Duke de Richelieu, alſo, abandoned Havre, and thus the whole province, as well as thoſe places which the Duke de Longueville had poſſeſſed, was reduced to the King's ſubjection. The ſame ſucceſs happened in Burgundy; where all thoſe places, which had declared for the Princes quickly ſurrendered, after the reduction of Bellegarde.

In the mean time, the Princeſs Dowager [of Condé] petitioned the parliament, for leave to reſide at Paris, in order to ſolicit her children's enlargement: but, through the influence of the Duke of Orleans, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, her application

was

was rejected, although a strong party, among whom was the first president, had been formed in support of it. In order to effect her purpose, the Princess submitted even to throw herself at the Coadjutor's feet, as he entered the Palais: a debasement, which we can scarcely pardon even in a mother, of her rank, however desolate her situation might be.

Some time after the Cardinal's return to Paris, he took a sudden resolution of marching with the army to Bourdeaux; into which place the Princess Dowager and the Duke d'Enguien, as also the Dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault had been admitted, and had prevailed on the parliament [of that city] to vote a petition to the King for the Princes enlargement. Most of his eminency's friends advised him against this enterprize, as it would require a large number of troops, and the frontiers of Flanders would thereby be too much exposed to the enemy. They also suggested to him, that the Princes friends might take the advantage of the absence of the court, to enter into dangerous intrigues with the parliament and city of Paris; that it would be sufficient, to send an experienced general, with a body of troops, to quiet the disturbances at Bourdeaux, and, in short, that as Paris was the head of all affairs, and the heart of the state, no inducement whatever should prevail on him to quit that city. But the minister overlooked all these considerations: and, as the Spaniards had recently been compelled to raise the siege of Guise, with some loss, he concluded, that they would not so soon be in a capacity to undertake any fresh enterprize, before he had reduced Bourdeaux, which he expected to effect with as little difficulty as he had experienced in Burgundy and Normandy. He therefore departed from Paris on this expedition with the King and Queen, leaving the care of the city to the Duke of Orleans, in quality of lieutenant-general of the crown, with M. le Tellier, one of the secretaries of state, in whom the Cardinal placed the most implicit confidence.

The Frondeurs, also, gave him the most positive assurances of a due observance of their late treaty with him, and engaged to oppose any cabals which the
Princes

Princes adherents might enter into, either with the parliament or the people, or even with the Duke of Orleans, into whose confidence the Coadjutor had been admitted, since the disgrace of the Abbé de la Riviere, whom his Royal Highness had discarded soon after the imprisonment of the Princes.

Cardinal Mazarin entrusted the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe and M. de Chateau-neuf, the keeper of the ſeals, with the management of the Frondeurs; the latter by means of his miſtreſs, Madame de Rhodes, who went every evening to the Hotel de Chevreuſe, where the leaders of the party conſtantly met. But, as the keeper of the ſeals was grown old, and as Madame de Rhodes had no longer any other than an intereſted regard for him, ſhe preferred the ſervice of the Frondeurs, before that of the Cardinal, to whom M. de Chateau-neuf himſelf was not very well affected at the bottom.

All the Cardinal's precautions could not, therefore, avert the inconveniencies which his friends had predicted to him. As the ſiege of Bourdeaux laſted longer than he had expected, this circumſtance gave the Spaniards an opportunity of re-entering the territories of France, and of making themſelves maſters of Capel, Rhetel and Chateau Porcien. The Prince's friends, alſo, found means to induce the parliament [of Paris] to take into conſideration the ſtate of affairs at Bourdeaux, from whence two deputies had been ſent to Paris with letters.

Theſe two incidents began to give a new turn to affairs. The near approach of the Spaniards, whoſe ſituation at Rhetel had rendered the ſafety of Vincennes very hazardous, obliged the court to think of removing the Princes from thence to ſome place of greater ſecurity: but the great difficulty was to fix on a ſpot proper for the purpoſe. The Cardinal propoſed Havre: but the Princes agents oppoſed the choice of that place with their utmoſt power; neither did the Frondeurs at all approve of it, as being ſo immediately under the Cardinal's command. That party would have preferred the Baſtile, of which they were almoſt the

the masters ; and this was the opinion of the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort. But M. le Tellier set in motion every engine, to induce the Duke of Orleans to reject this proposal and to adopt that of the Cardinal. The Marquis de Laigues, having been consulted on the subject by the Duke of Orleans, approved of neither proposal ; especially of the first, as the Duke had no power whatever over the citadel of Havre. His Royal Highness, therefore, after many deliberations, determined, of his own motion, to remove the Princes to Marcouffi ; which place had not yet been thought of by any one.

This measure proved very disagreeable to the court : and, when the Cardinal was informed of it, he accused the Coadjutor of having projected it, purposely to get the Princes into his hands, under the sanction of his Royal Highness's name. He was also much offended at the Duke of Orleans's having sent the Marquis de Verderonne and the Count d'Avaux, to treat with the Archduke on some further proposals which had been lately made by that Prince ; charging this also to the account of the Coadjutor, who, he said, was desirous of making a peace without his participation. 'Tis certain, that this negotiation was carried rather too far ; for although the Archduke had sent Don Gabriel de Toledo to Paris on this business, yet it afterwards appeared, that his design therein was solely to embroil affairs still more, as, when the Pope's nuncio and the Venetian ambassador, who had been appointed mediators, had advanced, in that quality, as far as Nanteuil, he absolutely refused to grant them the necessary passports, to enable them to proceed to the place appointed for a congress.

His eminency was also much displeased that the parliament had, at the instigation of his Royal Highness, sent some of their body to the King, under pretext of acquainting his Majesty with the propositions made by the deputies from Bourdeaux ; but, in reality, to endeavour to accommodate the affairs of that city. The Cardinal considered this as an artifice of the Coadjutor's, to deprive him of the glory of reducing Bourdeaux by force.

The

The freedom with which the Cardinal expressed his sentiments on this subject, created a great coolness between him and the Coadjutor, who now began to give ear to some proposals, on the part of the Princes, made to him by M. Arnauld, the general of the Carabiniers, his and their common friend, to whom he granted several secret audiences thereon, during the night. He, however, concealed his resentment, although he plainly perceived, that the Cardinal sought a pretext to quarrel, and that he should soon be obliged to drop his connection with him, seeing that the Princes party had taken such measures as would render it impossible for the Frondeurs to continue in opposition to them, without forfeiting the favour both of the city and the parliament.

Indeed, the Prince's friends were so elevated by their success in the parliament, respecting the affair of Bourdeaux, that they talked of presenting remonstrances, not only for the enlargement of the Princes, but also for the removal of the Cardinal from his Majesty's councils and dominions: and, as the Coadjutor and the Frondeurs spoke in very ambiguous terms on the subject, this conduct did them great disservice with the people, whose hatred to the Cardinal was not at all diminished.

The Princes party had also hired a number of adventurers, who, mingling with the croud, in the hall of the Palais, and loudly inveighing against the Cardinal, excited a great ferment amongst the people, who repeatedly shouted, " God save the King! God save the Princes! down with the Cardinal!" and the tumult proceeded to such a height, that it was with the greatest difficulty that the Duke of Orleans's guards, though headed by the Duke of Beaufort, could clear a passage for his Royal Highness through the croud, having been repulsed twice or thrice in the attempt. The Coadjutor too, as the story goes, was attacked one day, by a gentleman, with a poniard in his hand, whom he boasted to have disarm'd: however, he never would mention the name of the party, although he always declared that he was very well acquainted with his person. But it is scarcely probable that an
incident

incident of this nature should have happened, in the great hall of the Palais, without any person's being witness to it. Besides, those who were best acquainted with the Coadjutor's character knew full-well, that he was as incapable of keeping a secret of this kind, as he was of concealing the favours which he received from the ladies.

However, the Frondeurs continuing faithful to their engagements with the Cardinal, no resolution was taken against his eminency, or in favour of the Princes; and all the deliberations of the parliament, on the affairs of Bourdeaux, terminated with sending a second deputation to the court, with propositions, which were, at length, acceded to. A treaty was therefore signed; the chief articles of which were, that the Duke d'Epernon, the governor of that province, should be recalled; that a general amnesty should be granted to the city, and to all those who had taken up arms, particularly to the Dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault; and that the Princess Dowager should be permitted to retire, with the Prince her son, either to Montrond, or to one of her estates in the Province of Anjou.

This affair being adjusted, the parliament broke up their meeting: but the Princes partizans were not on that account the less indefatigable in their intrigues, to render the people favourable to their cause. Amongst other methods which they took, to increase the popular resentment against the Cardinal, they one morning exposed to view a half length picture of his eminency, in his robes, which they fastened to a post, the cord passing round the neck of the figure, to represent a person hanging upon a gibbet, with a written paper affixed thereto, containing a list of the crimes for which he had been doomed to death. Two of these pictures were exposed; one at the Croix du Tiroir, and the other at the end of the New Bridge, opposite the street of Dauphine: and this Bagatelle had such an effect on the populace, that an exempt was near being killed by them, in attempting to take down one of the pictures.

Another

Another circumstance also caused a great disturbance in the city. This was the assassination of one of the Duke of Beaufort's gentlemen, named Saint-Eglañ, who was killed, at eleven o'clock at night, in the street of S. Honoré, as he was going, in the Duke's coach, to fetch him from the Hotel de Montbazon. This murder occasioned much speculation: some pretended to believe that the persons by whom it was committed were nothing more than common robbers; many imputed it to the machinations of the Prince of Condé's friends; but the most received opinion, and which the Princes emissaries took great pains to inculcate, was, that the Cardinal was the author of it, but that the assassins had made a mistake, the Duke of Beaufort being the person whom they meant to have attacked. Be that as it may; the real state of the transaction hath ever remained a secret; those who were executed for the fact having simply declared, that the person who headed them on the occasion had made his escape; and that they knew nothing further of him, than that he had formerly served in one of the Prince of Condé's regiments.

Upon opening the body of one of these wretches, which had been delivered to the surgeons for dissection, all the internal parts were found to be transposed; the heart and spleen being placed on the right, and the liver on the left side. This was considered as a phenomenon; but the same extraordinary conformation was afterwards discovered in the body of one of the canons of Nantes, who died much about the same time.

During this time, the Prince's friends exerted their utmost endeavours, to engage the Coadjutor in their interests, without which they plainly saw that nothing could be effected with the Duke of Orleans. They had learnt, also, that the Coadjutor highly resented the complaints which the Cardinal made against him; and had opened his mind on the subject to the Dutchesse de Chevreuse. This lady represented to him, that it would be great imprudence, on such slight grounds, to quit the party of the court, and to embrace the interests of the Prince of Condé, whose sincerity,

sincerity, after what had passed, might justly be suspected by him; that he ought not to give ear to such reports, as might, possibly, be spread by the Princes' emissaries, to delude him, and which, even if they should prove to be true, were not of sufficient importance to justify his proceeding to extremities; and, in short, that, before he came to any resolution, he ought first to demand of the court the performance of its promise, to nominate him to a Cardinalship, which would prove the unerring test of its good or evil intentions towards him.

The Coadjutor pretended not to yield to these arguments, declaring that he would not condescend to ask any favour whatever of the Cardinal; but, as the Dutches de Chevreuse was sensible how much his heart was set upon this affair, she therefore, without his knowledge, spoke to M. le Tellier on the subject, desiring him to write to the Cardinal, without delay, and to represent to him, the absolute necessity of retaining the Coadjutor in his interests, whatever it might cost him. But M. le Tellier declined the undertaking, well-knowing that the proposition would not be at all approved by the Cardinal; and the Dutches therefore wrote herself to his eminency, who returned an answer, couched in such general terms, as, in his language, had no determinate meaning; not omitting, however, to give her some distant hopes of his compliance.

This letter of the Cardinal's served to retain the Coadjutor in his interests for some time longer, till he learnt that his eminency had, upon a certain occasion, let fall some virulent expressions against him and his friends. The Dutches de Chevreuse, also, began, from this circumstance, to entertain some distrust of the Cardinal, who had included her friend, the Marquis de Laigues, in the reflections which he had thrown out, saying that the Marquis was still too much of the same complexion with the Coadjutor to be confided in. For this reason, immediately upon the court's return to Fontainebleau, the Dutches went thither, to demand a more explicit declaration of the minister's intentions respecting the Coadjutor: but
not

not being able to obtain any satisfactory answer from his eminency, she told him, at taking leave, that she could not dispense with giving the Coadjutor some intimation of his indifference respecting him. The Cardinal, however, upon more mature reflection, sent the next morning, to invite the Dutches to a second conference; and, having learnt that she had already set out on her return, he next sent, in great haste, for the Marquis de Laigues, to whom he gave an almost absolute promise on the subject; fearing lest the Coadjutor should traverse his designs of returning to Paris, and of removing the Princes to Havre de Grace.

The Queen was so much bent upon this design, that she made it the first subject of her conference with the Duke of Orleans, at Fontainebleau, earnestly pressing him, either to take the immediate care of the Princes upon himself, or to permit their removal to Havre. His Royal Highness, for some time, continued firm in his refusal, but at length yielded to the Queen's importunities: and the Cardinal, apprehending that he might again alter his mind, directed M. Le Tellier to make out the necessary orders with all possible dispatch; enjoining him, at the same time, to keep himself so carefully concealed, that if the Duke of Orleans should send for him, to prohibit him from putting those orders into execution, his intention might thereby be rendered ineffectual: which circumstance happened as the Cardinal had foreseen; but it was not too late.

This measure, of removing the Princes, proved a very sensible mortification to their friends, who had, for some time past, been employed in forming a scheme, which they had almost brought to perfection, for setting them at liberty. With this view, they had bribed four of the soldiers out of the seven of which the guard in the Princes apartment consisted, who engaged either to make themselves masters of their companions, or to poniard them, in case they should resist. They had also secured the assistance of some of the officers and men, who did duty without, on the terrace
of

of the castle of Marcouffi, at the foot of which a man was to be ready with a boat, to convey the Princes over the ditch, whilst the Duke de Nemours, with a strong escort, should be in waiting, at the distance of twenty paces, to conduct them to some place of safety.

Thus, the Count d'Harcourt, who had taken upon himself the charge of conducting the Princes to Havre, executed his commission without any difficulty: but he was much censured on the occasion by all well intentioned men, who looked upon the action as unworthy the high reputation which he had deservedly acquired in the world. The following lines, upon the subject, were composed by the Prince of Condé, on the road from Marcouffi to Havre:

That man, fat and short, in hist'ry renowned,
The great Count Harcourt, with glory all crowned;
Who Cazel relieved, and retook Turin,
Is now the Bumb-Bailey of Jules Mazarin.

Some short time after, the court being returned to Paris, the Dutches de Chevreuse took occasion to press his eminency to a performance of his engagement with the Coadjutor, respecting his nomination to the Cardinalship. But that minister, seeing the Princes in his power, and flattering himself that he had nothing to fear from any further attempts of his opponents, now altered his tone, and peremptorily refused to perform the promises he had made to the Marquis de Laigues, on that subject, at Fontainbleau. The Coadjutor always predicted this event, and the Dutches de Chevreuse had, for some time past, leaned to the same opinion, but her attachment to the court was such, that all the attempts made by the Princes party to engage her in their interests must have proved ineffectual, had they not hit upon the expedient of proposing to her a marriage between Miss de Chevreuse and the Prince of Conti.

This project had originally been concerted between Madame de Rhodes and the Princess Palatine, in whom the Princes placed an entire confidence. The Coadjutor and Miss de Chevreuse earnestly wished for

its accomplishment: but the case was otherwise with the Dutchess de Chevreuse; who received the proposal, at first, with great coolness, on account of the strong opposition made to it by the Marquis de Laigues, who, as well as the Marquis de Noirmoutier, manifested much reluctance to break with the Cardinal, with whose conduct, towards them, they had good cause to be satisfied. Besides, these two gentlemen had personal reasons to oppose any accommodation with the Prince of Condé, of whose revenge and fickleness they were very apprehensive. They alledged, that they had every thing to fear from the Prince of Condé, and scarcely any thing from the Cardinal, who, although it were possible, that he might not readily grant them all their demands, would still be obliged to observe them to a certain degree; and, in short, that the proposed marriage was not a sufficient pledge of security to them, even should the Prince fulfil that article; which it was very likely he would not do, when once he should have obtained his liberty.

These arguments were, indeed, plausible, and well calculated to make an impression on the minds of the Frondeurs. But the article of the marriage was kept so profoundly secret, that none of the party knew any thing of it, except M. Caumartin, who acquired some intelligence of it, in virtue of his being the friend of Madame de Rhodes, and the confidant of the Coadjutor and the Dutchess de Chevreuse, by whom he was much esteemed; for, although very young, he possessed a most pliant and amiable disposition, together with a great fund of knowledge in parliamentary business; on which latter account, either he, or Joli, was always employed by the Coadjutor, to draw up the heads of his harangues in the parliament, and frequently both of them together.

At length, by dint of assiduity, Miss de Chevreuse, Madame de Rhodes, the Coadjutor, and Caumartin obtained the concurrence of the Dutchess de Chevreuse and the Marquis de Laigues both to the marriage and the treaty with the Princes: the Coadjutor was empowered to negotiate with the Princes, whilst the Dutchess,

Dutchess, on her part, should use every endeavour to procure the consent of the Duke of Orleans: a measure not easily to be effected. Not but that his Royal Highness readily admitted the necessity of reducing the too great authority of the Cardinal; that the opportunity of doing this would be irretrievably lost, if they waited till the King came of age, which period approached very fast, and, in short, that the sole means of attaining this end would be to unite with the Princes. The Count de Bethune, in whom the Duke of Orleans placed an unlimited confidence, contributed greatly to make him sensible of this necessity: but his Royal Highness constantly dreaded the consequences of this reunion, imagining that the Prince of Condé would be too much aggrandized thereby. He, however, at length, yielded his concurrence, upon a proposition being made for the Duke d'Enguien's espousal of Mademoiselle d'Orleans.

These preliminaries being adjusted, nothing now remained but to enter into written engagements: but here a fresh difficulty arose; for some of the Princes' friends, who had commenced a private negotiation with the Cardinal, from whom they had received assurances of their Highnesses speedy releasement, were of opinion that no resolution ought to be taken, till it was seen what would be the result of these assurances. Others of the party maintained, on the contrary, that, his eminency meant only to delude them, and that nothing was to be expected, but what they could wrest from him by force; to which end the assistance of the Frondeurs was indispensably necessary. But that which proved the greatest obstacle to the completion of this business, was an article, which the Frondeurs insisted on inserting in the treaty, binding the Princes to co-operate with them, in their endeavours to procure the Cardinal's removal; to which many of the other party would by no means be induced to accede, being professed Mazarins, and sworn foes to the Frondeurs.

Nevertheless, as the Prince of Condé had entrusted the sole care of this negotiation to the Princess Palatine, the president Viole, and M. de Croissy, who were
totally

totally uninfluenced by any regard for the Cardinal, they gave no heed to the above considerations, but entered into conference with the Coadjutor, who resorted for that purpose, every night, incognito, to the Hotel of the Princess Palatine, whither he was often accompanied by Caumartin.

This transaction, however, was not carried on so secretly, but that the Cardinal received intimation of it; but as the intelligence was extremely vague, and as he was then in treaty with some of the principal friends of the Princes, he gave himself very little concern on the subject; imagining that his great successes in Normandy, Burgundy, and at Bourdeaux had rendered him invincible.

As Rhetel, on the frontiers of Champagne, was the only place, which still remained in possession of the enemy, his eminency determined to attempt the reduction of it in person; and, his good fortune still attending him, he not only subdued Rhetel, but acquired a still greater advantage from the defeat of the army under the Viscount de Turenne, by that of the King, commanded by the Marshal du Pleffis, near Saumepuis: after which he returned in triumph to Paris, full of the idea, that all his opponents must now, inevitably, quit the field.

But he quickly found his error: for, in consequence of the treaty with the Princes having been signed, a few days after his arrival, the Princess Dowager of Condé presented a petition, together with a letter from the Princes, which were taken under consideration by the parliament, in spite of all the artifices of the Cardinal to prevent it; and it was, at length, determined to present remonstrances to the King and Queen, and to request the Duke of Orleans to interpose his authority towards procuring the enlargement of the Princes.

His Royal Highness had taken no part in these determinations, altho' he publicly avowed his wishes for the Princes liberty, and had openly declared, that their removal to Havre had been effected without his consent: but, as his treaty with them was not as yet concluded,

cluded, he did not think proper to engage himself before he had provided for his safety.

At length, the whole business was adjusted by the Coadjutor, who concluded two treaties with the Princess Palatine, to whom the Prince of Condé had sent full powers for that purpose, written on a piece of slate; the Dutchess de Longueville also having promised, in the name of the Princes, to ratify any engagements which their agents should enter into, in their behalf. The first treaty, which related to the Duke of Orleans in particular, stipulated, that the Prince of Condé should espouse one of the Princesses, his Royal Highness's daughters; together with several other conditions, all declaratory of the most firm friendship and attachment in the contracting parties. The second treaty concerned the Coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and the rest of the party, of whom, however, the majority were totally ignorant of this whole transaction. It consisted chiefly of the article respecting Miss de Chevreuse's marriage with the Prince of Conti, including a reciprocal engagement to act in concert against the Cardinal, and of another, for securing to the Duke of Beaufort the command of the fleet, to which post, the Prince of Condé thereby gave up all claim. This treaty was signed by the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, from whom great care had been taken to conceal the article of the marriage of Miss de Chevreuse, lest Madame de Montbazon, through her jealousy of that lady and her mother, the Dutchess, should break off the affair: and the Coadjutor, in reading the treaty, dexterously skipped over that clause, without the Duke's perceiving the deception. It has even been pretended that, the more easily to obtain the Duke of Beaufort's concurrence, a promise was made, in the name of the Princes, of a considerable sum of money to Madame de Montbazon. Nothing now remained, but to fix on the proper mode of proceeding, in order to set the Princes at liberty. On this subject, opinions were divided: some declared for seizing the person of the Cardinal, and confining him in the Bastille; for which service the Coadjutor proposed the Marquis de Chandenier, the first captain

captain of the King's guards, for whom he offered to be responsible : and the matter was carried so far, that the Coadjutor sent notice to many of his friends, that the design was to be executed on such a night, on which M. Tubeuf, the superintendant to the Queen, was to give an entertainment to the Cardinal, desiring them to hold themselves in readiness on the occasion.

But, as the Duke of Orleans could not be prevailed on to yield his consent to this measure, it was, therefore, resolved, to importune the Count for an answer to the parliament's remonstrances, which had been hitherto delayed, under various pretexts, and through the intrigues of the first president, who, although a friend of the Princes, could not bear that the Frondeurs should have the reputation of procuring their enlargement. But the parliament was now so urgent in its applications, that the court did not think it prudent any longer to resist ; more especially as several of the members had lately renewed some proceedings against the Cardinal. The Queen, therefore, in answer to the remonstrances, declared, that she was willing to grant the Princes their liberty : but, as the Dutches de Longueville and the Viscount de Turenne still kept possession of Stenai, they ought first to surrender that city to the King, and return to their obedience : after which her Majesty would give the necessary orders towards satisfying the wishes of the parliament. This answer was considered as an artifice of the Cardinal, to gain time, and to evade a compliance with the intention of the remonstrances, by a captious proposition, which tended to delay, at least, the affair of the Princes enlargement, if not totally to set it aside.

Immediately, therefore, after this answer had been read, in the parliament, some of the members of the court of inquests declared, that it was necessary to proceed to a deliberation thereon ; with which the first President found himself obliged to acquiesce ; the Coadjutor having acquainted the assembly, that the Duke of Orleans judged it requisite to the public welfare that the Princes should be set at liberty.

The debates lasted a considerable time, as the Frondeurs and the Princes party differed widely in their sentiments on the subject; the first still declaring for the Cardinal's removal, whilst the latter, with equal zeal, opposed the measure. At length, some of the members having advised an invitation to be sent to the Duke of Orleans, requesting him to take his seat in the assembly, the proposal was universally adopted. His Royal Highness declined complying with this request for several days, but, at last, he yielded; having taken great offence at some expressions which the Cardinal had used in the council, saying that the parliament of Paris seemed inclined to follow the example of that of England, and comparing the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort to Fairfax and Cromwell. These expressions, by which the minister meant to render that party odious, produced a quite contrary effect: insomuch, that his Royal Highness told her Majesty, in plain terms, that he would never again set foot in the council, whilst the Cardinal continued in it.

In this temper of mind, his Royal Highness resolved to go to the parliament, although the Queen used every endeavour to dissuade him therefrom, and to prevail on him to return to the council: for this purpose, her Majesty offered to conduct the King to the Luxembourg palace, attended by a single equerry, and without his guards, to manifest the confidence she placed in him, (the Duke) and to remove the jealousy he had conceived, on account of the orders which had been given to the gendarmes and the light horse to hold themselves in readiness, in case their assistance should be wanted. But this produced no effect. The Cardinal, therefore, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from his Royal Highness, dispatched the Marshal de Grammont, a friend of the Prince of Condé, in all haste to Havre, to treat with the Princes on the terms of their releasement; but without empowering him to conclude upon any thing. In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans having taken his seat in the parliament, the court, being desirous to put a stop to their deliberations, sent the Marquis de Rhodes, the

the grand master of the ceremonies, with a letter de Cachet, requiring the attendance of the whole company, at nine o'clock, at the Palais Royal, there to be acquainted with his Majesty's further pleasure. The first President recommended obedience to this order; but several of the counsellors of the court of inquests opposed the measure; observing that it had been already agreed not to pay any attention to those letters de Cachet, which the court was continually sending, and that, as his Royal Highness was then present, it was necessary to proceed to the consideration of the matter before them. This advice would certainly have been adopted, in spite of all the efforts of the first President, had not the Duke of Orleans proposed to send deputies, forthwith, to the Palais Royal, to learn her Majesty's pleasure, and that, in the mean time, the assembly should continue sitting, in order to take the Queen's answer into immediate consideration. The first President and some other members were accordingly deputed on this business, and three hours elapsed before they returned, during which time his Royal Highness remained in the assembly. When the deputies had again taken their seats, the first President, with the most palpable affectation, in order to impress a high idea of the dignity of the court, declared that their access to the Palais Royal had been rendered very difficult, by the long train of carriages, and the great throng of courtiers; but that, having been, at length, admitted to an audience, the King and Queen, the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal, and several other great officers of the state being present, the keeper of the seals addressed them in the following speech:

" Gentlemen,

" The Queen has commanded your attendance, purposely to acquaint you that, for these two days past, a report has been assiduously circulated by the Coadjutor, with the malevolent design of exciting the public resentment, that Cardinal Mazarin, on a late occasion, uttered some very injurious expressions

“ against your body. Her Majesty, by this method,
“ assures you that the accusation is false, and informs
“ you of what passed in the council on Wednesday last,
“ the time alluded to by the Coadjutor; when, in
“ the course of a consultation on the state of public
“ affairs, the Cardinal said, that he was convinced
“ that the evil designs in agitation were not levelled at
“ him alone, but at the King’s authority also; that
“ the male-contents having once effected their purposes
“ against him, would not stop there, but would next
“ attack the Duke of Orleans, and afterwards the
“ Queen, and that the Coadjutor was the chief in-
“ stigator of all this disorder and tumult; to which
“ his Royal Highness replied, that the charge brought
“ by the Cardinal was ill founded, and that the
“ minister, and his bad conduct were the sole objects
“ of their designs: that, after the council broke up,
“ his Royal Highness complained to the Queen of the
“ expressions which the Cardinal had used on the
“ occasion, and, on the next day, sent the Marshal
“ de Villeroi and M. le Tellier, to acquaint her
“ Majesty, that he would not attend the council again,
“ so long as the Cardinal should continue in it: at
“ which determination her Majesty is the more
“ chagrined, as she has always acted with the greatest
“ unreserve towards his Royal Highness, never con-
“ cealing from him the most secret deliberations, and
“ that she cannot but impute his conduct in this case,
“ to the evil suggestions of the Coadjutor; that with
“ respect to the releasement of the Princes, her Majesty
“ wishes for that even still more earnestly than he does,
“ who ought rather to fear it; and, finally, that she
“ conjures his Royal Highness to return immediately
“ to his seat in the council, where every thing waits
“ but for his presence, to be replaced upon its former
“ footing.”

The first President further acquainted the assembly, that this speech was succeeded by one from the Queen herself, who ordered them to acquaint his Royal Highness, that she could not sufficiently express the uneasiness she felt on the account of his retiring from the council,

council, and that she conjured him to return, assuring him that he should rule, in all cases, with a power equal to her own ; that she afterwards promised them, that the King should not quit the city, and, finally, that she was ready to grant the Princes their liberty, free of all conditions, and that, at the return of the Marshal de Grammont from Havre, it would be seen which of the two was most desirous of their enlargement, herself or the Coadjutor, against whose insinuations she begged his Royal Highness to be upon his guard. The Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, then delivered to the parliament a writing, which contained a confirmation of the first president's recital, and, addressing himself to the Duke of Orleans, acquainted him, that the Queen earnestly requested his presence at the Palais Royal, where she wished to confer with him on the present state of affairs. His Royal Highness replied, that as the report which had been made by the first President was of the utmost importance, he must first know the sentiments of the assembly thereon, before he could determine on the conduct which he ought to pursue on the occasion. The first president instantly answered, that his Royal Highness ought to comply with her Majesty's desire ; that his refusal would create a general tumult and confusion in the state ; that every thing might be adjusted by the proposed conference ; or, if that should fail, that the parliament would then submit itself implicitly to his Royal Highness's direction ; and that he conjured him, by his regard for the welfare and peace of the kingdom, no longer to reject her Majesty's solicitations. Having proceeded thus far, with great energy and vehemence, the first President now stopped short in his harangue : his eyes were filled with tears, and his whole carriage exhibited the strongest marks of grief : he seemed at a loss for words to express himself further, and concluded in these terms : *Ab ! Sir, do not bring ruin on the kingdom ; you have ever borne a tender affection to the King !*

This speech had such an effect upon the assembly, that a general silence ensued ; no one daring to interfere, in so delicate a conjuncture. The Duke of Orleans

Orleans briefly replied, that he would not refuse to wait on her Majesty, if the parliament should advise him to it, whatever subject he might have for distrust. But this he said in a manner and tone so irresolute, that it only encreased the general embarrassment. The first President, therefore, laid hold on this occasion, to reiterate his former arguments, and he would, possibly, have at length succeeded in his design, had not the Duke of Beaufort interrupted him, by asking, where was the security for his Royal Highness's safety? But even this produced but a slight effect, as the first President answered, without any hesitation, *Ab ! Sir, it is perfect ; the parliament will be the hostages.* At length the Coadjutor, who had been hitherto silent, addressed the first President in these terms: " His Royal Highness has already acquainted you, Sir, that he will be guided by the advice of this assembly. the advice of the assembly is not that of one or two, therefore it will be necessary to proceed to a deliberation."

These words dispelled the general consternation, and the clamour which ensued, in support of the Coadjutor's opinion, was so great, that the first President found himself, at length, obliged to yield. The Duke of Orleans, also, resumed his courage, and having commanded the Count de Brienne to make his excuse to the Queen, he made the following speech :

" Gentlemen,

" As, from what you have heard, it appears, that the Queen means to impute to me an egregious and reprehensible change of conduct, I think it necessary to exculpate myself, and to set the affair before you in its true light. For this purpose, I must recur as far back as a council, which was held at Compeigne, about eighteen months ago, relative to the disturbances in Guienne ; on which occasion, I gave it as my opinion, that the most likely method to calm the troubles of that province would be, to recal the Duke d'Epemon. Cardinal Mazarin expressed himself much dissatisfied with me for broaching

ing

ing this advice: he desired the Queen to speak to
 me privately on the subject; and, at a subsequent
 council, which was held at Paris, on the same business,
 finding that I persisted in my former opinion,
 he opposed it with all his power, and prevailed to
 have it thought extraordinary. My respect for her
 Majesty kept me silent. Some time afterwards, the
 design of imprisoning the Princes was brought upon
 the carpet: it was represented to me, as a measure
 absolutely necessary, and it was executed without
 allowing me the time I had demanded for determining
 thereon. When the expedition against Bour-
 deaux was proposed, I strongly objected to it; urg-
 ing the imminent danger to which the Frontiers
 would be thereby exposed, from the attacks of the
 enemy. My arguments only served to incense the
 Cardinal, and, without paying any attention to
 them, he prevailed to have the enterprize adopt-
 ed; every purpose of which might have been much
 better answered by recalling the Duke d'Epemnon,
 and nominating another governor to the command
 of the province. Soon after, I received intelligence
 of the obstinate defence of Bourdeaux; that the
 Spaniards had made an irruption into Champagne,
 and that they had taken Catelet. To remedy these
 complicated misfortunes, I judged it necessary that
 deputies should be sent from your body, to co-operate
 in the negotiations respecting Guienne: you,
 gentlemen, know what kind of reception they met
 with. The war continued: a second deputation
 was resolved on. Cardinal Mazarin was much of-
 fended with my conduct on the occasion; he accused
 me of having impeded the success of his Majesty's
 arms, and prevailed on the Queen to write to me in
 those terms.

When the Princess Dowager retired from Bour-
 deaux, the Cardinal had a long conference with her
 Highness, of which he gave me not the least in-
 timation. The enemy had now penetrated so far
 into the kingdom, that we received intelligence,
 from different quarters, that from their situation
 they might reach the forest of Vincennes in twenty-

four

“ four hours. For the greater security of the Princes,
“ I caused them to be removed to Marcouffi; with
“ which step the court was much displeased. The
“ Spaniards having retired, I wrote, thrice, to the
“ Queen, to know whether it was her pleasure that
“ the Princes should be removed back to Vincennes;
“ but her Majesty never returned me any answer.
“ Upon the King’s return to Fontainebleau, I went
“ thither immediately. The Queen earnestly pressed
“ me to consent to the removal of the Princes to
“ Havre, and, that I might not offend her, I was
“ forced to comply. A short time afterwards, I sent
“ for the keeper of the seals and M. le Tellier, and
“ acquainted them, that I did not at all approve of the
“ measure, and that, in an affair of such importance,
“ I must be vanquished by arguments and not by in-
“ treaties. The Cardinal instigated her Majesty to
“ reproach me on my conduct, and even intimated to
“ me something of his dissatisfaction himself. From
“ that time, he has entertained so much animosity
“ against me, that most of the late councils have passed
“ in contestations between us. He has concealed
“ from me the knowledge of several matters of con-
“ sequence: he has proposed violent measures against
“ this company: he has urged me to abandon my
“ nephew, the Duke of Beaufort, and the Coadjutor:
“ he has filled the King’s mind with jealousies of his
“ subjects, and maxims dangerous to the welfare of
“ the state. In short, at the council held on Wednes-
“ day last, speaking of your assembly, he had the
“ audacity to assert, that the King was the ultimate
“ object of your designs; that you meant to begin with
“ him first, thereby intimating the conduct of the Eng-
“ lish, respecting the viceroy of Ireland, after which
“ neither myself, the Queen, nor even the King would
“ be safe from your attacks; but that, if I would
“ suffer him to take his own measures with the sediti-
“ ous crew, he would effectually frustrate all their at-
“ tempts. To this I replied, that the parliament of
“ Paris was injured by being compared with that of
“ England, that you were all honest men and faithful
“ subjects to the King, and that your whole resentment
“ „ was

“ was directed against the minister, whom you considered as the sole author of all the disorders which had arisen in the state. Finally, perceiving that he persisted in this kind of language, I acquainted the Queen with my determination, no longer to associate with a man who filled the King’s mind with such groundless jealousies. On the next day, I sent for the keeper of the seals, the Marshal de Villeroi, and M. le Tellier, and informed them of my fixed resolution to appear no more in the council, so long as the Cardinal should continue in it. This, gentlemen, is an exact detail of my conduct; from whence, I flatter myself, it will appear, that I have not been biased by any private considerations. Every one has been witness to the manner in which I have acted hitherto, and to the respect which I have always manifested for the Queen: I will never lose sight of that respect, much less will I ever fail in my duty to the King, to promote whose service has been the constant study and chief happiness of my life.”*

This harangue, tho’ delivered off-hand, and without any previous preparation, was uttered by his Royal Highness with such fluency, and with an air of majesty so worthy his high descent, that it was received with the universal applause of the assembly, to which succeeded a loud and continual clamour, respecting the necessity of proceeding to a deliberation. However, the first President and the President le Coigneux still persisted in recommending a conference between his Royal Highness and the Queen: but their arguments proved of no more effect than those of the attorney general, who, after opening his harangue with

F 5

an

* His Royal Highness’s firmness bore no proportion to his eloquence; in which latter quality the Duke of Beaufort was particularly deficient. This circumstance gave rise to the following lines.

Beaufort shines in feats of arms,

And Gaston in oration:

Why has not Beaufort Gaston’s tongue?

Or Gaston Beaufort’s arm so strong,

To save a sinking Nation?

an observation that, *the eclipses of the heavenly luminaries arose, solely, from the interposition of other intervening bodies*, (from thence it was imagined that he intended to recommend the most rigorous proceedings against the Cardinal) suddenly changed his tone, and concluded with requesting his Royal Highness to yield to the Queen's solicitations. He also feigned to weep, in imitation of the first President, but this mummary was treated with the ridicule it merited. The first President, not at all discouraged by his former ill success, now returned to the charge, with the same artifices as before, and, addressing himself to the Duke of Orleans, "Ah! Sir," cried he, "the whole assembly perceives the emotion of your mind: for God's sake, Sir, for the sake of the King and the state, do not prefer violent measures! your arguments will have much greater weight with her Majesty than all the remonstrances of this assembly." But having, unfortunately, asserted that he would venture to be responsible for the enlargement of the Princes; that they were, perhaps, at liberty at that very instant; that the Marshal de Grammont was gone to Havre, expressly for that purpose, and that the Queen had commanded him to make this declaration to the assembly: the Duke of Orleans immediately replied, "Mr. first President, you are then much better informed, in this case, than I am; for all that I know of the matter is, that the Marshal de Grammont has been sent to negotiate with the Princes, respecting their release-ment, but without any power to conclude upon the terms." The first President, therefore, finding all his hopes defeated, now proceeded to take the opinions of the different members, some of which were, as is customary in all great assemblies, well worthy of attention, whilst others were too frivolous to merit any regard. Every one expected that the Coadjutor would have entered into a formal justification of his conduct: but he was more prudent than they imagined him to be. His speech was conceived in the following terms.

"Gentlemen,

" Gentlemen,

" In reply to the injurious reflections which have
 " been thrown out against me, I shall only observe
 " that, * *In difficillimis Reip. Temporibus Urbem non de-*
 " *serui, in prosperis nihil de publico delibavi; in despera-*
 " *tis nihil timui.* † I will not deny but that I am
 " sensibly affected by the unfavourable opinion which
 " their Majesties have been led to entertain of me;
 " but it is my consolation, that I am calumniated by
 " a person, whose very praises are held in abhorrence
 " by all good men. The public approbation with
 " which the Duke of Orleans has been pleased to ho-
 " nour me, renders all further justification of my con-
 " duct both unnecessary and improper: I therefore
 " give it as my advice, that the Queen be entreated
 " to issue an edict, declaratory of the innocence of the
 " Princes, and to dismiss Cardinal Mazarin from his
 " Majesty's presence and councils: and I also recom-
 " mend, that this assembly accompany its complaints,
 " of the reflections uttered by the Cardinal, with a
 " demand of a public reparation of the injury."

Some of the members proposed to proceed rigorously
 against the Cardinal, by informations, decrees, &c. but,
 the Duke of Orleans having given it as his opinion,
 that the times were not adapted to the execution of
 such violent measures, it was determined, at length,
 to petition the King and the Queen to grant the
 Princes their liberty, to issue an edict, setting forth
 their innocence, and, also, to banish the Cardinal;
 and it was further resolved to meet again on the Mon-
 day following, in order to take their Majesties answer
 into consideration. The assembly did not break up
 till four o'clock in the afternoon: and, when the
 Duke

* This piece of Latin was composed off-hand by the Coad-
 jutor; but the greatest part of the audience took it for a quotati-
 on from Cicero, or some other famous author amongst the anti-
 ents.

† This passage may be thus rendered: " In the most turbulent
 " state of public affairs, I never deserted my duty to my fellow-
 " citizens: I have never relaxed in my attention to the public wel-
 " fare in the time of prosperity; nor have I ever given way to fears
 " in the hour of danger."

Duke of Orleans came out, he was received by the people, of whom a great concourse had gathered about the Palais, with much joy, and with loud and reiterated shouts of "God save the King! No Mazarin!"

This determination of the parliament greatly surprised and disconcerted the court, but did not totally dispirit: and, as the Queen perceived that the declaration which she had enjoined the first President to make, in her name, relative to the releasement of the Princes, had not produced the intended effect, she resolved to disavow it; in hopes that the friends of the Princes, who had so strenuously endeavoured to procure the Cardinal's removal, might be induced to desist from that demand, when they should see that nothing was to be obtained from the court, in favour of their Highnesses, by a perseverance in such a plan of conduct. Her Majesty, therefore, sent the keeper of the seals, the Marshal de Villeroi, and M. le Tellier to the Duke of Orleans, to notify to him her disavowal of the first President's assertions, concerning the enlargement of the Princes, and to acquaint his Royal Highness that no resolution had been taken thereon, since the last council, at which he was present: they were also very urgent with him to return to the Palais Royal; to which he only replied, that all matters respecting the affair of the Princes must be first adjusted.

On the Monday morning, his Royal Highness acquainted the parliament with the particulars of this message; which excited a violent clamour in the assembly, against the first President, who was thrown into the utmost confusion by the circumstance. His embarrassment encreased, upon some questions being put to him, relative to the remonstrances which the assembly had ordered, by its last edict, to be presented to their Majesties: and, as it appeared that he had purposely delayed his compliance with that order, this gave rise to fresh murmurs against him, and created the strongest suspicions in every one's mind of the evil designs of the court: particularly as his Royal Highness, at the same time complained, that the Queen had sent positive injunctions to the provost of the merchants,

chants, and all the other officers of the city, to pay no obedience to his commands, although he was vested with the character of lieutenant-general of the crown. It was therefore concluded that fresh remonstrances should be presented to the Queen, and that the Duke of Orleans should be thanked for the protection which he had been pleased to grant to the company.

The Cardinal, now, clearly perceived the necessity of a voluntary retirement, in order to avoid the being compelled thereto by force, and to shelter himself from those insults to which he would inevitably be exposed, in case any tumult should arise. Having, therefore, communicated his design to some of his particular friends, they advised him to carry off the King and Queen; after which he might set at nought all the proceedings of the parliament, and, by putting himself at the head of an army, might reduce the Princes party to apply to him for their release; as he would at all times be the arbiter of their fate. The same expedient had been suggested to him after the battle of Rhetel; and it is certain that, had he adopted it at that time, he would have greatly embarrassed his enemies, who were divided into different parties, and were much dissatisfied with each other. But he was so much intoxicated by his late victory, and by the success he had met with in Normandy, Burgundy, and Guienne, that he imagined it would be an easy matter for him to destroy the one party, by uniting with the other; after which, he concluded, all resistance would subside: but the event did not answer his expectations. However, the great change, which had now taken place in the state of public affairs, rendered such a design not only dangerous but impracticable also: the Cardinal's enemies having taken proper measures to guard against any attempt of the kind, and having procured, from all parts, a number of soldiers, who constantly patrolled, on horseback, during the night, round the Palais Royal and the environs.

These precautions were authorized by the Duke of Orleans; who, together with the Dukes of Beaufort, of Nemours, &c. and many others of the nobility, whom

whom his Royal Highness had permitted to assemble, held themselves continually in readiness, to take the field upon the very first alarm. As the Cardinal was well acquainted with all these transactions, he, therefore, now determined to retire alone; in hopes that his absence might appease the popular ferment, and open the way to a negotiation. Accordingly, on the 6th of February 1651, at about eleven o'clock in the evening, his eminency quitted the city, on foot, and disguised in a grey habit: he was accompanied only by his equerry and three other persons, who conducted him, through the gate de Richelieu, to a spot, a little way out of the city, where they mounted some horses, which were in readiness, and repaired to a more distant rendezvous, at which place they found a body of five hundred horse, by whom the Cardinal was escorted to S. Germain. The news of his departure was quickly spread through the city: and the Queen having sent the Count de Brienne, to acquaint the Duke of Orleans with the event, his Royal Highness instantly carried the intelligence to the parliament, declaring, at the same time, that he must still decline the Queen's proposal of a conference, so long as the Cardinal should remain in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the court should persist in detaining the Princes in confinement. * This resolution of his Royal Highness was universally approved: and, in confirmation of it, the parliament ordered that the Queen should be humbly requested, that very day, to expedite the necessary instructions for setting the Princes at liberty; that the most grateful thanks of that assembly should be returned to their Majesties, for the dismissal of the Cardinal, and that their Majesties should be further solicited, to command his eminency to depart the kingdom, and to issue an ordonnance, excluding from his Majesty's

* In the Paris edition of this work, there is a note containing the following passage: " M. de C. had carried the treaty, for the
 " release of the Princes, in his pocket for three whole days, before
 " he could prevail on the Duke of Orleans to sign it: and it
 " was, at length, signed, between two doors, at the Luxemb-
 " bourg Palace, M. de C's hat serving as a table on the occa-
 " sion."

jesty's councils, in future, all foreigners, not except-
 ing such as should be naturalized, and, in general, all
 those who should have sworn allegiance to any other
 Prince than the King, their lawful sovereign. In con-
 sequence of this determination, the first President, at-
 tended by the other deputies, waited on the Queen at
 the Palais Royal: but her Majesty acquainted them,
 that no answer could be returned to their application,
 till she had first taken the advice of her council, which
 could not be assembled, so long as the Duke of Orle-
 ans, who presided therein, should refuse his attend-
 ance; and that his Royal Highness's further perseve-
 rance in such refusal would compel her, to convoke an
 assembly of the nobility of the kingdom, in order to
 take their sentiments on the present state of affairs.
 The Queen, accordingly, sent the Dukes de Vendôme,
 d'Elbeuf, and d'Epemon; the Marshals d'Etrées,
 Schomberg, de l'Hôpital, de Villeroi, Duplessis,
 d'Hocquincourt, and de Grancey, together with the
 bishop of Ambrun, * to the Luxembourg Palace, who
 acquainted his Royal Highness that, the Queen hav-
 ing expressed a desire that they should assemble at the
 Palais Royal, they had waited on him, to request that
 he would be pleased to attend, on the occasion; assur-
 ing him that every thing might, by this means, be
 adjusted, and offering to put themselves into the hands
 of his guards, as hostages for his personal security.
 To this the Duke d'Elbeuf added, very indiscreetly,
 that he would be his Royal Highness's surety: upon
 which the Duke of Orleans, who had long entertained
 a pique against that nobleman, on account of his at-
 tachment to the Cardinal, contrary to all the obligati-
 ons which had been conferred upon him by his Royal
 Highness, tartly replied: "It well becomes you, Ma-
 " zarin, a vassal, to intermeddle in this business! you,
 " who ought daily to attend my levee, are a very
 " proper person to be my surety! but it is well
 " known, that this your change of sentiment has
 " been occasioned by the grants of land and money
 " which you have obtained. Were it not for the
 " respect

* This Prelate's name was George d'Aubusson.

“ respect I bear to these gentlemen, in whose company you are, I would teach you a proper mode of behaviour to me. From this hour, I forbid you my house, and my presence.” His Royal Highness, then, addressing himself to the rest of the company, returned them thanks for their becoming comportment; but informed them, that he could not consent, conformably with the advice of his friends, to go to the Palais Royal, till the Princes should be set at liberty, and till the Cardinal should have quitted his residence, at the very gates, as it were, of Paris, where he still governed, with as great authority as if he was at the Louvre. The steady perseverance which the Duke of Orleans manifested on this occasion, greatly surprized the Queen, who had, in common with many other persons, entertained hopes, that the Cardinal’s retreat would have removed all his suspicions, and have deprived him of every further pretext for refusing to attend at the council. Besides, it is beyond a doubt, that this was his Royal Highness’s first intention; of which he, twice sent the most positive assurances to her Majesty: but the Princes friends soon prevailed on him to alter his resolution, by alarming his fears for his personal safety, and by representing to him the dilemma to which, they pretended, he would be reduced; either to abandon the interests of those with whom he had entered into treaty, or else to reject the applications which the Queen would naturally make to him in person, at the proposed conference; whereby her Majesty would be much more sensibly offended, than by the more distant excuses of which he might avail himself.

The Queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of convoking the nobility; and, finding herself closely pressed to give an answer to the two last edicts of the parliament, her Majesty sent the King’s council to the assembly, with a declaration, purporting that, if the Duke of Orleans still persisted in his refusal to go to the Palais Royal, she would, to demonstrate the sincerity of her intentions, command the Marshal de Villeroi, the keeper of the seals, and M. le Tellier to wait on his Royal Highness, in order to concert the
necessary

necessary measures for releasing the Princes from their confinement: to which her Majesty added an assurance, that the Cardinal's dismissal from the court was final. Although the Duke of Orleans expressed himself satisfied with the conciliatory terms of this declaration, yet it did not at all abate the virulency of the parliament against the Cardinal. A fresh edict was, therefore, issued; by which it was ordered that, in consequence of the above declaration of their Majesties, Cardinal Mazarin, his relations, and his foreign domestics should quit the kingdom in a fortnight, and should never return to it again, under any pretext whatsoever; that, in case of their non-compliance with this order, criminal processes should be instituted against them, and the faithful subjects of the King should be permitted to attack them personally; and that all Governors, Mayors, and Sheriffs should use the utmost diligence to prevent their taking shelter in any of the cities in the King's dominion: and, lastly, it was ordered, that this edict should be published by sound of trumpet.

However, the conferences still went on, at the Duke of Orleans's palace, where the Dukes de Beaufort and de la Rochefoucault, the Coadjutor, the President Viole, and M. Arnauld attended, to concert matters with the commissioners whom the Queen had nominated for that purpose. After some time had been spent in debates, it was, at length, agreed that the Duke de la Rochefoucault, M. de la Vrilliere, the President Viole, and M. Arnauld should, immediately, set off for Havre, with a letter de Cachet, signed by the Queen and his Royal Highness, containing express orders to M. de Bar, to set the Princes at liberty. All cause of complaint seemed now to be removed; when, suddenly, a report was circulated, that the Queen had formed a design to conduct the King secretly from Paris, which revived the apprehensions of the people. It was never properly known from whence this report originated, or how far it was founded on fact: but the Duke of Orleans seemed fully satisfied of its truth; declaring openly that he had received the most convincing intelligence of it. This circumstance

circumstance gave rise to a conjecture, that the Queen would not, so readily, have agreed to a conference, but with the view of removing all cause for suspicion, that she might, with greater ease, carry her projected scheme into execution. Be that as it may; the Duke of Orleans made such effectual dispositions to frustrate the design, that her Majesty could not possibly have succeeded, even if she had attempted the enterprize; especially as, at the instigation of the Coadjutor, five or six companies of the citizens, in the quarter of St. Honoré, assembled, at two o'clock in the morning, and took possession of such of the city gates as were nearest to the Palais Royal. However, these proceedings were much disapproved by many of the members of the parliament; and the first President and some others, openly condemned the measure in very strong terms. But every one acquiesced, when the Duke of Orleans had informed the assembly, that the whole was executed in virtue of those orders which he had judged it expedient to issue, to prevent the success of a fresh scheme which had been concerted, to conduct the King by stealth from the city: and it was resolved to entreat the Queen to quiet the minds of the people, by removing every cause of suspicion on the subject; with which her Majesty was obliged to comply, by delivering up the gates into the hands of the citizens. The alarm which the above report had created, occasioned so strict a watch to be kept, that all the coaches passing through the gate Dauphine, in their way to the fair at St. Germain, underwent a narrow search, through an apprehension that the King might possibly be concealed in one or other of them. In this situation of affairs, the deputies, who were appointed to carry the orders for the release of the Princes, sat out for Havre. But Cardinal Mazarin, who still remained in the neighbourhood of Paris, being apprized of this transaction, and wishing to have the credit of releasing the Princes himself, got the start of the deputies, and, travelling post, night and day, reached Havre before them. He arrived at that place on the Monday morning, February 13, 1651, and went, immediately, to the citadel, to pay
his

his respects to the Princes, and to acquaint them, that they were at liberty to retire wherever they should think proper. He even debased himself so far, as to throw himself at the Prince of Condé's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, to solicit his Highness's protection: but the Prince's answers, during a conversation which lasted upwards of an hour, were merely general, and of little import. Immediately after dinner, the Princes sat out for Paris, where they arrived on the 16th of the same month, and were met, on the road, by a very considerable number of the nobility. Even the Duke of Orleans went as far as St. Denis to meet them; where, the Princes having quitted their coach, his Royal Highness did the same; and, as soon as the first compliments were over, presented to them the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor, whom they loaded with civilities: after which their Highnesses pursued the remainder of their journey, in the Duke of Orleans's coach. Immediately upon their arrival at Paris, they were conducted, by the Duke of Orleans, to an audience of the King and Queen; by whom they were received very graciously. They were attended, wherever they went, by a great number of carriages and a prodigious concourse of people, who saluted them with repeated shouts of "God save the King! God save the Princes!" and even bonfires were made, on the occasion, in many parts of the city.

On the next day, their Highnesses went to the Palais, to return thanks to the parliament for its late good offices. In a day or two after, the King sent an edict to the parliament, declaratory of the innocence of the Princes; which was registered on the 28th of February. At length, in order to give entire satisfaction to the parliament, and to put a stop to all further deliberations, the King issued an ordinance, by which all foreigners, those who should be naturalized not excepted, were for ever excluded from his Majesty's councils, as likewise all Cardinals, even such as should be natives of France.* The parliament was a long time

* It was on this occasion, that M. Talon said to the King:
"Although

time employed in the consideration of this latter clause, and the debates on the subject were very elaborate and interesting. The insertion of this clause must be chiefly imputed to the intrigues of Cardinal Mazarin's partizans; who, enraged at the late dismissal of their patron, took this method to satiate their revenge on the Coadjutor, whose whole soul, they well knew, was occupied with the desire of obtaining that dignity.

Thus ended the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé: during which period he received the most essential services from an infinite number of friends, both within and without the kingdom. It must be acknowledged, however, that it was to the Frondeurs that he, chiefly, owed his liberty; although it was the opinion of many, that they acted contrary to their own interest in the part they took. But, setting aside the private considerations by which they may have been induced to this conduct, it is very certain that, excepting the Marquisses de Noirmoutier and de Laigues, all the other leaders of the party consented with great unwillingness to his Highness's imprisonment, and that they first used every effort to prevail on him to be reconciled to them. As the Queen's consent to the Cardinal's dismissal, and the release of the Prince, was totally involuntary, and had been wrung from her by force, the subsequent transactions must be considered as the consequences, only, of the former intrigues. What related to the Prince gave her Majesty little uneasiness; her chief concern was for the Cardinal's absence: and, as the recent union of the Prince with the Frondeurs had produced his eminency's dismissal, and continued an invincible obstacle to his return, she put in practice every art to break their connection, pursuant

"Although it is to your Majesty, alone, that the Cardinals are
 "indebted for their promotion, and not to the Pope, who simply
 "confirms your Majesty's nomination; yet, no sooner are they
 "invested with this dignity, than they not only deem themselves
 "Counsellors, Senators, and Coadjutors of the pontifical power,
 "but they even imagine that they are, thereby, rendered part-
 "takers of it's very essence, and entitled, in some sort, to a share
 "of its authority," &c.

purstant to the earnest exhortations which she daily received from the Cardinal on that head. This constant correspondence, between her Majesty and the Cardinal, having transpired, occasioned much murmuring among the people, and gave great umbrage to the Princes and to the parliament.

The Prince of Condé seemed to be firmly attached to his new connections, and constantly manifested a strong resentment against Cardinal Mazarin. It is, however, a certain fact, that his Highness, even at this time, had conceived the design of re-adjusting matters with the Cardinal, and that he had no other view, in all his proceedings, than to frighten his eminency into an implicit submission to his will; by which means he hoped to obtain that uncontrollable authority in the cabinet, which had ever been the sole aim of all his projects. But, as he carefully concealed his intentions from the knowledge of the public, and sedulously avoided giving any grounds for suspicion by his actions, every one heartily concurred in the attempt to render the Cardinal's return impracticable. With this view, the parliament now resumed its former deliberations on the subject, with fresh vigour; in consequence of which, new edicts were issued against the Cardinal, and deputies were sent, to make enquiries into the cause of his long stay at some particular places on his rout, to oblige him to quit the kingdom without further delay, and to see that none of the Governors on the frontiers should permit him to take refuge in any of their districts.

In the mean time, the Duke of Beaufort and the Dutchess de Longueville, who had had but a small share in the releasement of the Princes, fearing that their consequence in public affairs would be utterly lost, if they should suffer the marriage of the Prince of Conti with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse to take place, determined to set every engine in motion to prevent that alliance; and, as they penetrated, more readily than any one else, into the sentiments of the Prince of Condé, they imagined that there would be no great risque in giving the Queen a hint, that the Prince of Condé

Condé was not so strictly united with the Frondeurs, but that he might be detached from their party, by a well judged proffer of favours for himself and his friends. This overture proved highly pleasing to the Queen; and the Cardinal, being informed of it, immediately wrote to her Majesty, advising her to offer the Prince his own terms. However, as his eminency's real design was solely to open a negotiation, in hopes that time might produce some event in his favour, her Majesty, under the pretext of putting the sincerity of his Highness's intentions to the test, proposed to him to dissolve the assembly of the nobility, which had increased in number so much, since his restoration to liberty, that not less than between seven and eight hundred persons, of the best families in France, (some of whom also acted as proxies for others, who could not attend) met regularly twice or thrice a week, at the convent of the Cordeliers: so that this assembly represented, in some sort, the whole nobility of the kingdom.

This new confederacy of the noblesse justly gave the Cardinal great uneasiness; for, as the original purpose of their assembling had been to obtain his dismissal, and the release of the Princes, it was natural to imagine that they would oppose, with all their power, every measure which he might take for his return. Moreover, all their proceedings, from the very first day of their meeting, had been conducted with such order and propriety, that the authority which they derived from their rank was considerably increased, by the approbation which they met with from all honest men.

In this assembly, two new Presidents were elected every fortnight, whose office it was to collect the suffrages of the members, which was performed with much less noise and confusion than in the parliament. No person interrupted another whilst he was speaking. Two secretaries, also, had been elected at their first meeting, who were not removeable, like the Presidents: one of these was the Marquis d'Auvery, of the house of Ailly, a friend of the Coadjutor, and the other the
Marquis

Marquis de Chanlost, who belonged to the Prince of Condé's household : their business was to reduce to writing all the debates, resolutions, &c. of the assembly. Finally, they had carried matters so far, under pretence of providing for the security of their own rights, and those of the public, as to demand, at last, a convocation of the estates general of the kingdom ; which proposal gave such universal satisfaction, that those of the prelates who were then at Paris, deputed M. de Comminges to the assembly, with a proffer of their ready concurrence therein. Thus, nothing was now wanting but to obtain the consent of the third estate, the people, for which purpose, it was intended to apply, without delay, to the corporation of the city, and to write circular letters, on the subject, into all all the provinces : after which the estates must, necessarily, have been convoked, whereby the door would have been, for ever, shut against the Cardinal's return. Nor was his eminency either unapprized of the danger of his situation, or remiss in his endeavours to avert the mischiefs which threatened him. His partizans in the parliament were strictly enjoined to inveigh against the proposed convocation, as a measure which would inevitably prove highly detrimental to the interests of that company : and, by these kind of suggestions, they succeeded so far, as to sow distrust in the minds of some, even of those who were the best disposed to the design, but who, now, began to suspect, on too slight grounds, that a general assembly of the estates would certainly annihilate all the power and authority of the parliament.

But, as matters were already in great forwardness, and as the conduct of the nobility, in this business, met with the general approbation of the public, the court found it absolutely expedient to have recourse to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, in order to attain its views. Both these Princes, from different motives, readily yielded to the instances of the court ; particularly the latter, whom the Dutcheis de Longueville and the Duke de la Rochefoucault easily persuaded, that, in an assembly of the estates, the Duke of Orleans would, naturally, have much more weight than his

his Highness; that such an assembly would give rise to a general confusion, and which might, probably, prove not at all favourable to the interests of the Princes of the blood; and, finally, that his Highness might, without any hazard, in one quarter of an hour, obtain for himself and his friends more real advantages, both of emolument and dignity, than he could possibly expect either from the Frondeurs or from an assembly of the estates.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, in consequence of their engagements with the court, went in person to the assembly of the nobility, where they had beforehand secured a majority to support their proposal, and urgently exhorted them to put an end to their meetings, and to confide in the Queen's promise, for the performance of which their Highnesses pledged themselves to the company, to convoke an assembly of the estates, as soon as the King should come of age, and, in the mean time, to send the necessary orders into the different provinces for electing the deputies. Many of those present did not, however, all approve of the proposal, and several of them, who were of the first quality, strongly represented to the Princes the disadvantages which would inevitably result to themselves from its adoption; conjuring them to reflect on the danger of delaying matters, and on the small likelihood there was, that the court would execute those promises, of which it was now so prodigal, when the King should come of age.

The harangues, on this occasion, were conceived in such strong terms, and were replete with sentiments so worthy of the noble speakers, that it may justly be said, that all the assemblies of the parliament produced nothing comparable to them.

It was decided, however, by a majority of voices, that the assembly should be dissolved: and, merely for form-sake, circular letters were sent, throughout the precincts of the city, in consequence of which a meeting was held, at the Archbishop's palace, for the purpose of nominating deputies, to the pretended assembly of the estates of the kingdom. But the occurrences which arose soon after defeated all these measures.

fures, which the court would, otherwise, by some means or other, have doubtless rendered ineffectual. The court did not stop here: and as Cardinal Mazarin had discovered the great repugnancy of the Dutcheſs de Longueville to the propoſed marriage of Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, he undertook to render that deſign abortive, and, thus, to lead the Prince of Condé into the commiſſion of a ſecond fault, which, in its conſequences, proved more prejudicial to him than the former. The Cardinal, therefore, gave his Highneſs to underſtand that, as the firſt ſtep towards eſtabliſhing an entire confidence between them, it would be neceſſary to break through every engagement which he had entered into reſpecting the above marriage. Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe was young and handſome, of an engaging diſpoſition, and every way qualified to gain the affections of the Prince of Conti, and to merit the frienſhip of his brother, the Prince of Conde. The Dutcheſs de Longueville, * alſo, poſſeſſed ſome of theſe qualifications, but ſhe no longer now relied upon thoſe advantages, not being ſo young as the former lady. For this reaſon, ſhe ſeconded the Cardinal's ſolicitations with all her power; on every occaſion, uttering the moſt injurious reflections againſt Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, whom ſhe even did not ſcruple to accuſe of an infamous connection with the Coadjutor. And in this conduct, ſhe was marvelloſly abetted by Madame de Montbazon and the Duke of Beaufort, who were much offended at the caution which had been uſed, to conceal this article of the marriage from them, and at the trick which had been played by the Coadjutor, at the time of ſigning the treaty. The Duke de la Rochefoucault, in concert with the other perſons abovementioned, inceſſantly

VOL. I.

G

represented

* 'The Dutcheſs de Longueville,' (ſays the Duke de la Rochefoucault) 'poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of wit and beauty, that it ſeemed as if nature had determined to exhibit, in her perſon, a perfect and finiſhed work. But all theſe fine qualities were, in part, obſcured, by one particular defect: which was that, inſtead of giving law to her adorers, ſhe adopted herſelf to their diſpoſitions to ſo high a degree, that ſhe no longer ſeemed to have any will of her own.'

represented to the Prince of Condé, that he must never expect to obtain any thing from the court, without making some concession to the Queen; that a perseverance in his connections with the Coadjutor, and in the design of effecting the marriage in question, would certainly exclude him, perhaps for ever, from all share in the management of affairs, unless, indeed, he could deprive the Queen of her power in the state: an enterprize very difficult in itself, and to which the Duke of Orleans would never yield his consent; that, even if it could be accomplished, the Duke of Orleans would be the only gainer thereby, as all authority must necessarily devolve on him; that it was true that the Queen entertained a great partiality for Cardinal Mazarin, but that, still, this attachment might not be indissoluble; that every day produced instances of persons the most firmly connected, conceiving disgusts against each other; and that, at the worst, by flattering and humouring the Queen's disposition, his Highness would be enabled to introduce his friends and his creatures into the council, after which every thing might be hoped for, from the fortunate conjunction of times and circumstances.

Many of his Highness's friends maintained, on the other hand, that nothing was to be expected from that quarter; that the Queen's attachment to Cardinal Mazarin would never alter; that the minister wished for nothing so much, as to exclude his Highness from all participation in public business; that the delusive offers which he held out, were only meant to detach him from the Frondeurs, after which the Cardinal would not fail to re-unite himself with that party, in order to insure his ruin; that, upon this account, the surest method would be to attack the Cardinal, and the Queen, also, should it be found necessary, with the utmost vigour; that this might be effected with much less difficulty than was imagined, by uniting in a body, to obtain the consent of the Duke of Orleans thereto; that there was no cause to fear that this would throw the management of affairs so entirely, into the hands of his Royal Highness, as the marriage in question would

would attach the Frondeurs more closely to the Prince of Condé than to any one else ; finally, that it would be much to his discredit, thus to violate the engagements of a treaty, in virtue of which he had so recently obtained his liberty : a mode of conduct which would, naturally, disgust his friends, and would deprive him of the support of all honest men. All these different considerations greatly embarrassed the Prince of Condé, and kept him for some time in suspense : at length, however, he was forced to yield to the earnest solicitations of the Dutches de Longueville, and those domestic cabals, which, on such occasions, are commonly irresistible. Moreover, the Queen, who was informed of all that passed, very opportunely, whilst he was yet undetermined in his choice, made him the following proposals : that his friend, M. de Chavigni, should be re-admitted into the council ; that the keeper of the seals, M. de Chateaneuf, who was attached to the Frondeurs, should be dismissed from it, and that the seals should be given to the first President of the parliament, who was ever ready to serve his Highness whilst he preserved the friendship of the court. Her Majesty also engaged to confer on his Highness, the government of Guyenne, instead of that of Burgundy, and the lieutenant-generalship thereof, together with the government of Blaye, on the Duke de la Rochefoucault ; the government of Provence was promised to the Prince of Conti, and numerous other emoluments and dignities were granted to their creatures. All these proposals could not fail of producing their effect ; more especially as the Queen began, immediately, to put in execution the most considerable and essential of them ; the Prince of Condé having allowed time for the performance of the rest. This was necessary in some respects ; as in the case of the government of Provence, which was then in the hands of M. d'Angoulême, and besides, as the Prince did not chuse that the public should so soon be acquainted with his treaty with the court, or that it should be suspected that he had consented to the Cardinal's return.

In the mean time, this change in the council greatly surprized the Duke of Orleans, who had not received the least intimation of the design, and he rightly judged that it could arise, solely, from a new and strict engagement between the court and the Prince of Condé. This the Prince, on being taxed with it, denied: but he took care to confirm the suspicion, past all manner of doubt, by the most studied affectation of conduct, by going, on the same day, in triumph, to the Luxembourg Palace, accompanied by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and most of his other partizans, where they, in a manner, insulted the Coadjutor and such of the Frondeurs as chanced to be there at the time. This incident greatly embarrassed the Duke of Orleans, but he dissembled his resentment for the present, not being able to determine his choice, amongst the diversity of plans which were recommended to him by his friends, who advised him not to suffer such a palpable affront to pass unnoticed, nor to accustom the Queen to make changes of consequence in the state, without his concurrence. The Coadjutor and the Marquis de Noirmoutier were even of opinion, that the seals ought to be taken, by force, from the first President, and brought to the Luxembourg Palace; which step, they maintained, his Royal Highness was authorized to take, in virtue of his office of lieutenant general of the crown. But, as the Duke of Orleans could not be prevailed on to consent to such an open violence, every one, from that moment, rightly conjectured that little was to be expected from him, and that neither the article relative to the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, nor any other of the engagements, which the Prince of Condé had made with them, would be adhered to.

In fact, the Prince no longer restrained himself within the bounds of common decorum, in the affair of the marriage; and, although he had, at first, commissioned the President Viole to withdraw the promises which himself and the Prince of Conti had made, on the subject, and to apologize to the Dutchess de Chevreuse and her daughter for their conduct, yet he now chose rather to break off the affair in the
most

most public manner. Accordingly, he took the opportunity, one night at supper, to relate to the Prince of Conti, in the presence of the whole company, a number of circumstances highly injurious to the character of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, in consequence of which that Prince, who had conceived a passion for her, declared that he would never think of her more.

The Prince of Condé's conduct, on this occasion, was universally condemned: but what most irritated the public against him was, the renewal of his connections with the court, which he now took very little precaution to conceal, and which his partizans, in vain, endeavoured to justify. The only circumstance which could exculpate the Prince was, what the Coadjutor mentioned some time afterwards, that the Prince had, on a certain day, in his presence, suggested to the Duke of Orleans the necessity of depriving the Queen of the Regency; but that his Royal Highness would give no ear to the proposal, nor could he (the Coadjutor) be induced to consent to it, on account of the favours which he had received from her Majesty. Admitting this to be true, the Prince was not much to be blamed for the measures he afterwards adopted, as the mode of proceeding he advised was, doubtless, the only effectual one to procure the Cardinal's ruin. But, besides that neither the Prince nor his friends ever thought of urging this circumstance, as a plea in his vindication, the Coadjutor himself never mentioned a syllable of it till long after the time when it was supposed to have happened; and those to whom he told the story did not credit it, being persuaded that he had invented it, in order thereby, to create himself a kind of merit with the Queen, (to whom he was, certainly, indebted for his Coadjutorship) and that too at the expence of the Prince of Condé. Be that as it may, all talk of the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was now dropped. A report was also spread, even at the time when the seals were taken from M. de Châteauneuf, that both the mother and daughter would be banished; of the truth of which, it is said they themselves were

were so fully persuaded, that they held themselves in readiness during a whole night, without going to bed, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse keeping a casket, which contained their jewels, under her arm, all the time. The Coadjutor, and some others of the Frondeurs, also remained at the Hotel de Chevreuse all the night, concerting measures for avenging themselves, as occasion should offer; but, as the expected letter de Cachet was not sent, their fears, in part, subsided, and every one retired to his own house.

However, as the want of resolution, which the Duke of Orleans had manifested on this occasion, had given much offence to the Frondeurs, they judged it proper to make him sensible of their displeasure in some exemplary manner, whereby he might, perhaps, be induced to dismiss his fears, and to comply with their views. Accordingly, the Coadjutor went, some days afterwards, to the Luxembourg Palace, and informed the Duke of Orleans, that having, hitherto, considered himself, as being not altogether useless to the public, he had always exerted himself, to the utmost of his abilities, in its service: but, perceiving that his former little consequence was now totally lost, and that affairs had taken a different course, he was determined to retire in peace, and to expose himself no longer to those inconveniencies and troubles, which his regard for the interests of the public, and of some individuals, had made him cheerfully suffer, although, he now found, his conduct therein was held in very cheap estimation. This language, as had been foreseen, greatly surprized the Duke of Orleans, who replied, that, if they imagined him capable of deserting them, and uniting with the other party, they did him great wrong, and that it was his desire, ever to maintain a good intelligence with the Coadjutor and his friends: but that prelate still feigned to persist in his resolution to retire, although his Royal Highness used every argument to dissuade him from it.

The Coadjutor carried his dissimulation so far, that many even of his friends believed him to be serious. As one method to disguise his real designs, he went about, with great pomp, to various churches in the city,

city, to administer the sacrament of confirmation : but this did not, at all, take off his attention from other matters ; and he resorted every night to the Hotel de Chevreuse, where the chiefs of the cabal constantly attended.

Thus matters remained, for some time, in a kind of calm, the Prince of Condé flattering himself with the notion, that his power was uncontrollable. Even the parliament did nothing now but clamour against Cardinal Mazarin, and against those who sent him intelligence of all that passed to Bouillon, to which place he had retired : and, as the Prince no longer countenanced those clamours, they ceased of themselves, by degrees, together with the meetings of the parliament. But this tranquillity was not of long duration : for, as the Frondeurs had learnt from the apparent diffidence of the court, in the late affair of the Dutches de Chevreuse, that their condition was far from being desperate, they secretly founded the inclination of the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin towards a negotiation, and found them not at all averse to the proposal, all their expectations from the Prince of Condé being answered, by his refusal to fulfil his engagements, respecting the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

Having been thus successful in its attempts to render the Prince of Condé odious to the Frondeurs, the court now sought every means of inducing the latter to retaliate the affronts and injuries which they had received from his Highness ; in hopes, thereby, to preclude even the possibility of a reconciliation between the parties. Cardinal Mazarin plainly saw that, unless this purpose could be effected, the obstacles to his return would be, in a manner, insurmountable. As neither of the parties was sufficiently powerful to afford him that support, in his design of returning, of which he stood in need, he judged, that it would be necessary to foment the discord between them with the utmost assiduity, in order to destroy them by each others hands : after which he might easily resume his former authority and station in the government. Moreover, he preferred a connection with
the

the Frondeurs, both as their cabal had ever been the most powerful, consequently the most to be dreaded by him, and, also, as the continual demands made by the Prince of Condé gave him cause to fear, that his Highness would, in the end, acquire the supreme direction of affairs; whereas he had nothing of that kind to apprehend from the Frondeurs, who only sought to gratify their vengeance on the Prince, without any other condition.

With this view, the Cardinal, apparently, consented to the proposition, made to him by the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, for imprisoning the Prince of Condé a second time. He communicated this design to the Princess Palatine, who did not attempt to dissuade him from it, being at this time much displeased with the Prince, who, by his present disrespectful neglect of her, made a very bad return for the services which she had rendered him during the period of his confinement. The Cardinal, being well acquainted with her abilities, entrusted her with the management of the chief of his concerns, whilst he remained in exile, employing her frequently in the most secret and difficult intrigues. It was from this Princess, therefore, through the intervention of Madame de Rhodes, that the Coadjutor received the first intelligence of the Cardinal's having consented to a second imprisonment of the Prince of Condé. But, as she did not wish to break with the Prince entirely, she would not permit her name to be mentioned on the occasion: and to this, 'tis possible, she might be further induced, by a suspicion that, in the present, as in former instances, the Cardinal only dissembled his designs, for the sole purpose of widening the breach between the two parties. M. de Lyonne, the Queen's secretary, was commissioned to negotiate this business with the Coadjutor. A meeting was, accordingly, held, at the Count de Montresor's Hotel, at which, after a conference of three hours, every thing was readily adjusted, and a solid and perfect union was agreed upon, of which the Prince's imprisonment was to serve as the basis. The Coadjutor engaged, also, in the name of his party, upon the above preliminary's being duly executed, to set every engine in motion to facilitate the Cardinal's
return;

return ; at the same time, reserving to himself the liberty of pursuing such a conduct, in the parliament, even tho' it should sometimes appear contradictory, as he should judge most conducive to the furtherance of the design in view : and M. de Lyonne promised, on behalf of the Cardinal, to procure for the Coadjutor and his friends every favour they could desire.

At the breaking up of the conference, the Coadjutor told Joli, who had waited for him, in an adjoining apartment, that the design, of which he was already informed, would certainly be carried into execution, and that there remained only a few previous measures to be adjusted, whereby to render the Prince's fate inevitable ; which measures were the more expedient, as it had been resolved, in order to guard, as much as possible, against the failure of the enterprize, not to mention the matter to the Duke of Orleans. But the business was not so far advanced, as had been imagined : and M. de Lyonne, when questioned relative to the repeated delays which had arisen, constantly imputed them to the difficulty of procuring intelligence from the Cardinal, which prevented him from receiving his eminency's final orders on the subject. These excuses carried with them such a semblance of truth, that neither the Coadjutor, the Dutches de Chevreuse, nor any of the rest of the party, had the least suspicion of the real cause of those delays.

However, it afterwards appeared, beyond all manner of doubt, that M. de Lyonne, who, on all occasions, openly affected the most mysterious secrecy, had himself revealed the design to the Marshal de Grammont, who having communicated it, in confidence, to M. de Chavigni, this latter instantly informed the Prince of Condé of the whole affair : and, as his Highness, at the same time received a note, acquainting him that three companies of the regiment of guards had been ordered to march towards the suburb named S. Germain, he mounted on horseback, with all speed, and, at about two o'clock in the morning, on the 6th of July 1651, quitted the city, being accompanied by some of his friends, and retired to S.

Maur, whither he was, soon afterwards, followed by the Prince of Conti, the Dutcheſs de Longueville, the Dukes de Nemours, and de la Rochefoucault, and by ſeveral others of the nobility. This retreat occaſioned an univerſal ſurprize, no one being able to penetrate into the cauſe of it. The Prince's friends endeavour'd to induce a belief, that a deſign had been formed to ſeize his perſon, becauſe he had oppoſed the Cardinal's return : but the Coadjutor and his friends publicly maintained that this was a new frolic ariſing, ſolely, from the refusal of the court to grant the continual demands made by the Prince, in behalf of himſelf and his creatures ; that what had been alledged, reſpecting the Cardinal, was only meant to inflame the minds of the people ; that the report of the court's intention to ſeize his Highneſs's perſon was totally falſe, and that the jealousies which he had conceived were utterly deſtitute of foundation, and could be conſidered only as indicating an evil deſign.

Theſe opinions, from the mouths of perſon unſuſpected, bore great weight, and created a belief that the Prince's flight proceeded from a panic terror, and from an intention of reviving the late troubles in the ſtate. Many were ſtill further confirmed in this belief, by the appearance of the Prince of Conti, on the very next day, at the parliament, where he only obſerved, in vindication of his brother's retreat, that his Highneſs had received undoubted intelligence of the deſign to ſeize his perſon, without adding any other particulars, ſave that couriers were diſpatched, almoſt daily, to the Cardinal ; that he poſſeſſed more power than ever in the council, through means of his creatures, Meſſrs. Servien, le Tellier, and de Lyonne, who did nothing without his orders ; that his Highneſs could place no confidence in the declarations of the court, neither could he find any ſecurity for his perſonal ſafety, whiſt thoſe perſons ſhould remain in their poſts ; that he, therefore, earneſtly requeſted the aſſembly to diſmiſs them, after which, he would return immediately to Paris, and would attend the levee of the King, as uſual.

This

This harangue made but little impression on the assembly; nor was any greater effect produced by a letter, which the Prince of Condé had sent, by one of his gentlemen, and which was conceived in much the same terms as the harangue, save that the Duke de Mercœur was therein accused, by name, as being one of those persons who had visited the Cardinal, at Cologne, and that too with the design of espousing one of his nieces.* The first President, therefore, who was more attached to the court than to the Prince of Condé, in answer to the foregoing harangue of the Prince of Conti, briefly replied, that the Prince of Condé would have acted more prudently, if he had laid his complaints before the parliament in person, instead of thus withdrawing himself, in order to create a general alarm among the people, and that, in fact, his Highness did not run a greater risk, nor ought to be more scrupulous of coming to the parliament, than he (the Prince of Conti) himself was. The Duke of Orleans, also, spoke upon the occasion, and declared, that he considered it as his duty to exculpate the Queen, in the present case, from any design against the person of the Prince of Condé, and his Royal Highness was firmly persuaded of the truth of what he asserted, every precaution having been taken, to conceal the above intention from him. As the Duke of Orleans appeared to be well convinced of what he advanced, his speech had a great effect on the assembly, and it was judged sufficient to order, that the letter should be carried to the Queen, to know her Majesty's pleasure thereon, and that his Royal Highness should be requested to interpose his good offices, and to endeavour to remove the Prince's fears.

The Queen, therefore, sent the Marshal de Grammont, to accompany the Duke of Orleans to S. Maur,
to

* The Duke de Mercœur, having espoused Madame de Mancini, the Cardinal's niece, was cited before the parliament, for having contracted that marriage out of the kingdom, and without previously obtaining the King's consent. The Dutchess de Mercœur died in 1657, greatly regretted by the whole court, on account of her extraordinary merit.

to assure the Prince of Condé that his suspicions were groundless, and that he might return, in all safety, upon the security of her word. To which the Prince replied, that he would never return, so long as the Queen retained Cardinal Mazarin's valet about her person. This expression was deemed rather too harsh, nor was the conduct of his Highness, in dispatching circular letters, on the very same day, to all the parliaments of the kingdom, at all approved by the public: which measure seemed to indicate a pre-meditated design of exciting the people to a general revolt, more especially as, on that day, a considerable number of officers and soldiers appeared in the great hall of the Palais, whilst the parliament was sitting, as if purposely to influence the determinations of the assembly. There were, also, some persons, who, as the members retired from the Palais, shouted, 'No Mazarin! No Mazarin!' but they were only such as had been hired to that intent. However, these marks of resentment against the Cardinal fell infinitely short of those which had been exhibited on former occasions: at those times, it was unnecessary to hire persons to raise a cry against his eminency, every one expressing, with his voice, the undisguised sentiments of his heart. But the face of affairs was now entirely altered, and, each man attaching himself to one or other of the different cabals, the interests of the public were totally disregarded by all.

The general inveteracy, which still existed, against Cardinal Mazarin proved, however, of singular service to the Prince's cause, by procuring him the suffrages of many persons, who believed that he was in earnest in his opposition to the Cardinal: but others, who considered matters more attentively, judged it necessary to act with great circumspection, perceiving that his Highness had lately refused to perform the articles of a treaty, which had been entered into for the express purpose of effecting that minister's ruin. Amongst the rest, the Duke of Beaufort declared himself in favour of the Prince, fondly imagining that he should, thereby, induce the people also, to embrace his Highness's interest: but the face of affairs was now
totally

totally changed. Every one was heartily wearied of the late disturbances and tumults, and carefully avoided reviving them; the Cardinal had quitted the kingdom; moreover, the public could scarcely conceive that the Duke of Beaufort's attachment to the Prince was sincere, seeing that his Highness had so lately accused the Duke's brother, the Duke de Mercœur, openly before the parliament, of resorting to the Cardinal, for the purpose of concluding a marriage with one of his nieces. In short, it was clearly perceived, that the Duke had entered into this new connection merely through private views, which interested no one but himself, and that, in his present situation, he held the rank of a subaltern only, without influence, without estimation: whereas, had he adopted a contrary conduct, he would ever have been considered as the chief leader of a very powerful party.

In the mean time, the Prince of Condé's letter having been laid before the Queen, her Majesty sent a written answer thereto, which was delivered by the King's counsel to the parliament, and contained, in substance, as follows: that the Prince ought no longer to retain those suspicions, on which he pretended to justify his retreat, after the assurances which her Majesty, in concert with the Duke of Orleans, had given him of the contrary; that her Majesty had empowered the Duke of Orleans to accommodate matters with the Prince, conformably to the parliament's request; that, with respect to the Cardinal, her Majesty never had any intention to recal him, being determined to adhere, most religiously, to the promise which she had given the parliament; that the Duke de Mercœur's late negotiation with the Cardinal had been carried on without either her consent or knowledge; that Messrs. Servien and le Tellier had ever been faithful servants to the late King; that M. de Lyonne was one of her domestics, whom she was entitled to chuse at discretion; that she assured the assembly that neither of those persons had entered into any negotiation for the Cardinal's return; that if, after these declarations, the Prince of Condé should still continue

to

to withdraw himself from court, it would, naturally, be supposed that he was influenced thereto by other motives, than those which he had assigned; and, finally, that, if the Prince should persist in such conduct, he would greatly offend her Majesty, seeing that it was the height of her wishes to re-establish that harmony in the Royal Family, which was so essential to the peace and welfare of the state.

This answer, although very insincere, was, nevertheless, well received by the parliament: some of the members, however, objected that it was not signed by a secretary of state: but this breach of the customary forms was easily passed over. Accordingly, the Duke of Orleans was again requested to endeavour to bring the Prince to a compliance; which he promised to undertake.

Some high words passed, on this occasion, between the Prince of Conti and the first President. The latter, urging the importance of the affair before them, observed that the Prince of Condé should not have retired from the city upon a simple suspicion only, and that his precipitate retreat might have given rise to a civil war. Here he was interrupted by the Prince of Conti, who told him that such language was not proper to be used, when speaking of a Prince of the Royal Blood. But the first President replied, that it was not right thus to cut him short in his harangue, and that, in the place where he then was, none, but the King, had the power of imposing silence upon him: and, reverting to his former theme, of the civil war, he proceeded so far as to remind the assembly, that there were instances upon record, and those too of no very distant date, wherein some of the Prince of Condé's ancestors had created great disturbances in the state. The Prince of Conti's patience was now totally exhausted, and he replied to the first President, in a violent rage, that in any other place, he would teach him the respect due to a Prince of the Blood.

The Duke of Orleans remained a silent spectator of this dispute: but, when it came to his turn to speak, he expressed much concern that the odious term,

term, of civil war, should have been made use of; adding, that he hoped that nothing of the kind would ensue, and that he would exert all his endeavours, to re-establish the public tranquillity. In fact, at a subsequent conference, held at Rambouillet, he used every argument to dispel the Prince of Condé's suspicions, and to induce him to recede from his demands, respecting the dismissal of Messrs. Servien, le Tellier, and de Lyonne. But the Prince continued immovable in his determination, and absolutely refused to yield to any terms of agreement, till that condition should be first executed: to which the Queen could, by no means be induced to consent. His Royal Highness communicated to the parliament, an account of all that passed at that conference: but, as he avoided giving his opinion on the matter, it was found necessary to proceed to a deliberation; which was conducted in a very disorderly and confused manner, the members being much divided in their sentiments, in consequence of the violent spirit of party which reigned amongst them, and of their attachment to the various cabals, which had of late started up. In this diversity of opinions, that of the Coadjutor bore the most weight; both as the assembly was totally unacquainted with his real sentiments, and as his situation between the two parties, of the court and the Princes, appeared to be truly critical. But, as he had previously concerted matters with M. de Lyonne, he found it in no wise difficult so to frame his advice, as to give no offence to either party. The speech which he delivered on the occasion had been composed by Messrs. Caumartin and Joli, who were well acquainted with the dispositions of the parliament, and with the proper modes of proceeding, in order to secure the suffrages of the major part of that assembly. This speech was conceived in the following terms:

' It has ever been my opinion, gentlemen, that it
' had been better, had we never harboured a suspicion
' of Cardinal Mazarin's return, nay, that we had
' even deemed such an event impossible. As his dis-
' mission

mission had been pronounced necessary, by the general voice of the whole nation, our fears of his return seem to imply, also, an apprehension for the welfare of the state, which must, consequently, be thrown into great confusion and disorder. If these suspicions are well-founded, we have great reason to dread the effects they may produce; and, should they be even void of foundation, they are, still, sufficient to alarm us, by the pretexts they furnish for every species of innovation. To stifle them, therefore, all at once, and effectually to deprive the one party of all hope, and the other of every pretext, I think we cannot be too decisive in our determinations; and, as reports are circulated of a certain dangerous correspondence, which has been carried on for some time past, it appears to be requisite to declare all those criminal, and disturbers of the public peace, who shall, in any manner whatsoever, presume to correspond with the Cardinal, or to attempt to procure his recal. If the advice given by his Royal Highness, some months past, had been adopted, affairs would, at this time, have worn a different aspect; we should never have heard of these suspicions and distrusts; the peace of the state would have remained inviolate, and we should not have been compelled to request his Royal Highness's interposition with the Queen, (as it is my advice that we do) to procure the dismissal of those partizans of the Cardinal already mentioned. It must be acknowledged, that the manner in which this demand is made is very uncommon, and that, if the appointment and dismissal of the King's servants were to be liable to the controul of any Prince of the Blood, such a dependance would prove a great diminution of his Majesty's prerogative. The liberty of the subject, and the condition of a courtier would be rendered very precarious, by being thus subjected to the caprice of so many masters. In the present case, an exception is to be made: the demand in question relates to the removal of certain persons, whose dismissal must, doubtless, be productive

' ductive of good consequences, by obviating the ap-
 ' prehensions which have been conceived, on the sub-
 ' ject of the Cardinal's return: this demand comes
 ' recommended to you, also, by his Royal Highness,
 ' whose sincere and disinterested attention to the wel-
 ' fare of the state, and his Majesty's service, is so
 ' well known throughout Europe. We must confide
 ' in the prudence and wisdom of their Majesties, and
 ' the Duke of Orleans, for the removal of those ap-
 ' prehensions, and for the speedy re-establishment of
 ' that concord in the Royal Family, which is so ear-
 ' nestly desired by all honest men, and to effect which
 ' was their sole motive, in their endeavours to pro-
 ' cure the Princes their liberty: too happy to have
 ' contributed thereto, even in the slightest degree, by
 ' their suffrages! My advice, therefore, is, that all
 ' those who shall, in any wise, negotiate with the
 ' Cardinal, or shall enter into any measures to pro-
 ' cure his recal, be declared criminal, and disturbers
 ' of the public tranquillity; that his Royal Highness
 ' be requested to use his influence with the Queen, to
 ' obtain the dismissal of the afore mentioned par-
 ' tizans of the Cardinal, and that the thanks of this
 ' assembly be returned to his Royal Highness, for his
 ' unwearied endeavours to accomplish a re-union in
 ' the Royal Family, which is so essentially requisite
 ' to the prosperity of the state and the public quiet.'

This speech of the Coadjutor's was universally ap-
 proved: the Prince of Condé's friends could find no-
 thing in it to object against, as it tended to support
 him in his demands, and the court highly applauded
 the severity with which that Prelate had reprehended
 his Highness's conduct. The Duke of Orleans, also,
 had good reason to be pleased with the manner in
 which the Coadjutor had spoken of him on the oc-
 casion. Thus, this harangue destroyed, in one mo-
 ment, all the Prince's expectations from the parlia-
 ment, and several of the members could not even re-
 frain from censuring his conduct in the most unreserved
 manner: amongst others, M. l'Ainé, a member of
 the grand chamber, who, though constant in his op-
 position

position to the court, gave it as his opinion that, before they came to any determination on the subject of the prince's demands, it would be necessary to request his Highness's personal attendance, in order that they might learn, from his own mouth, the sum of those demands, and, having once satisfied him therein, that they might prohibit him from making any further claims: as he might, otherwise, insist, in the end, on filling the council, and the chief departments of the state, with his creatures, in order, thereby, to acquire the supreme direction of all affairs. The Duke of Orleans delivered his sentiments in a very ir-resolute manner, and he appeared much disinclined to declare himself, in favour either of the court or the Prince; although the Coadjutor had neglected nothing, to awaken the fears and jealousies which his Royal Highness naturally entertained, lest the Prince of Condé should acquire too great a share of power in the state. This irresolution of the Duke of Orleans, which was apparent from the beginning to the end of the debates, so far influenced the determination of the assembly, that the edict which they issued was conceived in terms almost as ambiguous as those, in which the major part of the members had delivered their opinion on the subject: it being decreed only, that the Queen should be thanked for her promise, not to recal the Cardinal, and that she should be humbly requested to send a written declaration thereof to the parliament, to be registered in due form; that her Majesty should be further requested to give the Prince of Condé all necessary satisfaction, respecting his personal security, in case of his return, and that informations should be issued against those who had held any intercourse with the Cardinal, since the time of the prohibition.

The Queen might, therefore, had she been so inclined, have dispensed with dismissing Messrs. Servien, le Tellier, and de Lyonne, as the edict contained nothing explicit relating thereto. But, as it had been determined to deprive the Prince of Condé of every pretext for persevering in his refusal to return, her

Majesty

Majesty ordered those persons to withdraw themselves from the council : and, when the deputies from the parliament, in consequence of the edict, went to the Palais Royal, she assured them that she would give orders for the drawing up a declaration, respecting the Cardinal, conformably to the wishes of the assembly, and that she would dismiss the three persons who were become suspected by his Highness. They, accordingly, retired from the council ; and they even took the precaution to appear no more in public, attended by their servants in livery. This conduct was very prudent, and, perhaps, necessary ; both on account of the measures which the Prince of Condé's friends had taken, to render them odious to the public, and, also, to screen themselves from the effects of that resentment, which the people expressed against every one, whom they suspected of negotiating with Cardinal Mazarin. It was plainly to be seen, that the dismissal of these persons was a mere artifice : but, as it served to deprive the Prince of all further pretext for absenting himself from the city, his Highness was compelled to act with equal craftiness. He, accordingly, appeared publicly at Paris during the day, but constantly retired in the evening to S. Maur ; and, for the greater security, whenever he passed through the streets, he caused himself to be attended by an extraordinary number of pages and footmen, in very rich liveries, although he was in mourning at the time, for his mother, the princess Dowager of Condé. He was, also, accompanied, on such occasions, by many of the nobility and officers of the army, in their carriages : and, further, he had taken the precaution to distribute money among the rabble, who constantly preceded him, in crowds, repeatedly shouting, ' God save the King ! ' God save the Princes ! ' Thus accompanied, and with too studied an air of haughtiness and disdain, his Highness came to the parliament. After the first President had recited to him the assurances which her Majesty had given the assembly, respecting the dismissal of those persons who had fallen under his suspicion, his Highness replied, that he expected that
the

the Queen should promise, also, never to re-instate them : which declaration gave great offence to every one present, being considered as the result of a pre-meditated design, to throw every possible obstacle in the way of an accommodation. Many of the members highly disapproved, likewise, of the Prince's being admitted to take his seat in the parliament, before he had been to the Palais Royal, to pay his respects to the King : the first President earnestly advised him to this step, which occasioned some sharp words between them ; his Highness maintaining that his personal safety would thereby be exposed to imminent danger, and that before his imprisonment the court had given him repeated assurances of a similar kind, of which afterwards it made no account : the Prince, therefore, returned to S. Maur, in the evening, without having seen their Majesties. Although the Queen, some time afterwards, made the parliament the guaranty of her promise, relative to his Highness's personal safety, yet he still refused to confide therein ; neither could he be induced to pay his respects to the King, notwithstanding he one day met his Majesty at the Cours, * whither, it has been reported by some, he went purposely with that view. 'Tis true, that the Prince has constantly denied the charge : the first President, however, did not neglect to make the most of this incident ; and, speaking on the subject one day in the parliament, he even ventured to tell his Highness, that he seemed to have an intention to set up altar against altar. The Prince, interrupting him, replied, that he could not suffer that expression to pass unnoticed ; that he well knew the duty he owed to the King ; that he would never swerve from it in any case, where the performance of it should not be incompatible with his safety, and that his demand of sureties, in the present state of affairs, was well founded, and ought not to be construed into a design of raising altar against

* A spot of ground, in the environs of Paris, to which the nobility and gentry resort in the summer time, in their carriages, to take the air : resembling, in that respect, what was formerly called, the Ring, in Hyde Park.

against altar, as the most open correspondence was daily carried on between Cardinal Mazarin and his partizans, and as some of them, whose names were Berthet, Brachet, Silhon,* and Ondedei,† made continual journies to Cologne, whither the Cardinal had retired. He declared, moreover, that he was well informed that certain assemblies had of late been held, wherein it had been determined to imprison him a second time; of all which he proposed to bring his complaints, regularly, before the assembly, in due time and place, and to name the parties, whom he described in such a manner, as to leave no doubt but that the Coadjutor was the person meant.

These bickerings were succeeded by a deliberation; at the close of which it was determined, that the Queen's answer should be registered; that the Prince of Condé should be requested to wait upon their Majesties; that orders should be given to the Attorney General, to issue informations against all the persons who should be found to have attended at those secret conferences, which had been held for the purpose of seizing the Prince's person; that the Duke de Mercœur should be cited, to give an account of his conduct, with respect to his late interview with Cardinal Mazarin, and his marriage with the Cardinal's niece; that the aforementioned Ondedei, Berthet, Brachet, and Silhon should be summoned, to answer to the charges which should be brought against them by the Attorney General, and that the first of the four should be taken into custody.

In a few days afterwards, the Prince of Condé went, at length, to pay his respects to their Majesties, at the Palais

* Jean Silhon, a zealous partizan of Cardinal Mazarin, in defence of whom he published several pieces, one of the most material of which was entitled, 'An attempt to set in a true light several transactions in the administration of C. Mazarin;' printed, in folio and duodecimo, in 1650 and 1651.——See Pere le Long's Catalogue, and Pelisson's History of the French Academy. Mention is made therein of some other works, written by this Silhon, who died in 1666.

† Ondedei was, at first, a spy to Cardinal Mazarin, or to any one else who would pay him well, and was afterwards promoted to a Bishop's see.

Palais Royal, whither he was accompanied by the Duke of Orleans : but, although he met with a tolerable favourable reception from the King and Queen, it was plainly to be seen, that there yet remained a certain degree of animosity and distrust on both sides ; and the Prince of Condé still continued to appear with a numerous train of followers during the day, and at night with an escort of fourscore horse. The same mode of conduct was adopted by the Prince of Conti ; and the Coadjutor, also, following their example, never stirred abroad, without a strong party of his friends and dependants to attend him.

In the mean time, the Prince of Condé earnestly pressed the execution of that part of the last edict which related to the Duke de Mercœur. The Duke was therefore compelled, at length, to appear before the parliament, to give an account of his conduct. He began with avowing his marriage, and declared that the sole motive of his journey to Cologne had been to fetch his wife from thence ; and that, after all, this marriage had been contracted with the consent of the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and, even, of the Prince of Condé himself. To this the Duke of Orleans replied, that 'twas true he had given his consent three years before, as had her Majesty also, through the persuasion of the Abbé de la Riviere and the Marshal d'Estrées ; but that, having since perceived the evil tendency of the Cardinal's public conduct, he had used every endeavour to prevail on the Queen to revoke her consent, and to dissuade the Duke de Mercœur from his design, to whom he had also given the most positive assurances that he would never yield his concurrence therein.

Although this, his Royal Highness's declaration, appeared rather unfavourable to the Duke de Mercœur's cause, yet the affair was suffered to drop, seeing that it would have been a very difficult matter to annul a marriage, which had been performed and consummated in all the requisite forms : besides, a business of much greater importance was now in agitation. The Queen and her council were assiduous in their endeavours, to compel the Prince of Condé to retire
from

from Paris, and they incessantly pressed the Coadjutor to exert himself vigorously, in opposition to all his Highness's designs in the parliament. The Coadjutor and his party wished for the Prince's absence, still more ardently than even the Queen herself: for, although they were very sensible that little confidence was to be placed in the Cardinal's promises, yet they were so enraged at his Highness's repeated perfidy, that they suffered their desire of revenge to get the better of every other consideration whatever. Moreover, they flattered themselves, that the Prince's retreat would not render the Cardinal so absolutely the master of affairs, but that he would still stand in need of their support for some time, whence, he would be necessitated to grant them certain favours, and, perhaps, the nomination of the Coadjutor to the Cardinalship.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé strove to maintain his ground in Paris, being very unwilling to quit the city: but, as he perceived the period of the King's coming of age to draw on apace, and as his credit with the people diminished daily through his variance with the Frondeurs, he began to take the necessary steps, both within and without the kingdom, for forming such a party as might enable him to keep the Cardinal in awe, and oblige his eminency to grant him those favours which he had, hitherto, constantly refused him. However, unfortunately for him, these negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that they came to the knowledge of the court: the Queen, therefore, finding herself pressed by the parliament for an answer to its last edict, by which she was requested to issue a more explicit declaration against Cardinal Mazarin, judged this a proper time to drop the mask: and, as the Prince of Condé had never appeared at the Louvre since the day that he had been conducted thither by the Duke of Orleans, her Majesty determined to make a public complaint of his Highness's disrespectful and dangerous conduct, thereby to oblige him to retire from the city, and, at the same time, to evade the urgent solicitations of the parliament with regard to Cardinal Mazarin.

With

With this view, her Majesty commanded the attendance of all the superior courts, as also of the city corporation, on the 17th of August 1651; and the parliament having, accordingly, sent deputies to the Louvre, the Duke of Orleans, and many others of the nobility and great officers of the state being, also, present on the occasion, a kind of memorial was read to them, which was afterwards delivered to the first President of the parliament, to be communicated by him to the whole assembly. This memorial contained a fresh promise from their Majesties never to recal the Cardinal, and a summary discussion of his Highness's conduct, in which he was, first, reproached with his ingratitude for the numerous favours which he had received from the court. Their Majesties then proceeded to set forth, that they had received undoubted information, that the Prince had commenced a secret correspondence with the Archduke, the Count de Fuenfaldagne, and other enemies of the state; that, on this account, he would not suffer the Spaniards to evacuate Stenai, of which place they had taken possession during the time of his imprisonment, although this was the sole proof of his good intentions which the King had exacted from him; that he had written to all the different parliaments, and to all the principal cities of the kingdom, to incite them to a revolt; that he had fortified all those places which remained in his hands, particularly Montrond, whither the princess [of Condé] and the Dutchess de Longueville had already retired; that he had constantly refused to join the King's army with his troops, and that, instead of being employed against the enemies of the kingdom, they were solely occupied in ravaging the provinces of Picardy and Champagne; and, finally, that their Majesties had judged it expedient to acquaint the parliament with all these matters; not doubting but that that assembly would use its utmost efforts to support the King's authority, and to prevail on the Prince to return to his duty.

The contents of this memorial caused an universal surprize, and it certainly laid the foundation of all those disturbances which quickly afterwards ensued.

The

The Prince endeavoured to exculpate himself from the charges brought against him, by imputing them to the malice of his enemies, particularly of the Coadjutor, whom he called a slanderer, accusing him also of being the author of the above memorial, and of having been present at several conferences, at the Count de Montresor's Hotel, at which measures had been taken for imprisoning him a second time. His Highness had never spoken so plainly on the subject of these conferences before, out of complaisance to M. de Lyonne, by whom he had been first informed of them, which circumstance he still cautiously endeavoured to conceal, by mentioning the Coadjutor and the Count de Montresor, only, as being present at those meetings. But this artifice only served to render the Coadjutor and his friends still more suspicious of M. de Lyonne; although it was the opinion of many, that he would not have dared to reveal the secret, unless he had been impowered so to do by Cardinal Mazarin.

Be that as it may, the Coadjutor positively disclaimed all share in framing the memorial, tho' it is certain, that he suggested and approved of it, disavowing also every, the least knowledge of the above-mentioned conferences at the Count de Montresor's, on the subject of which he spoke with such apparent indifference and unconcern, that the assembly was greatly puzzled to know what judgment to form thereon. The Prince then laid before the parliament two written vindications of his conduct; one of which was drawn up in his own name, and contained distinct answers to all the charges specified in their Majesties aforementioned memorial; the other being a declaration of the Duke of Orleans, to the same purport. The Prince was very urgent with the Duke of Orleans to attend in person in the parliament, in order to give the greater sanction to his declaration; but his Royal Highness could not be induced to comply, having, for some time past, withdrawn himself from the assembly, both on account of the almost daily riots which happened at the Palais, and also from an unwillingness to enter into an opposition to the court, or to disoblige the

the Coadjutor, who had now acquired great influence over him. It is even certain, that he sought every pretext to excuse himself from granting the Prince this declaration in his favour ; but he was, at length, compelled to yield to his Highness's importunity.

This declaration set forth, that he (the Duke of Orleans) had been made acquainted with the Queen's intentions, of commanding the attendance of the superior courts, a very short time only before that measure was carried into execution ; that the above-recited memorial had been communicated to him but a quarter of an hour before the arrival of the deputies of the parliament ; that it contained many exceptionable articles, which he had advised her Majesty to suppress ; that the Prince of Condé had, in his presence, proposed to the Queen, and afterwards to the council, two different plans for compelling the Spaniards to evacuate Stenai, one of which was to conclude a suspension of arms between that city and the province of Luxembourg, and the other to give him the command of a detachment, of two thousand men, with which he would lay siege to the city and drive them out by force, which he could not effect with a smaller body of troops, seeing that he had only two hundred men in the citadel, whereas the number of Spaniards in the city amounted to upwards of five hundred ; that the sole reason of the Prince's refusal to join the King's army with his troops was, that the former was commanded by the Marshal de la Ferté, a man totally devoted to Cardinal Mazarin, whom he had constantly attended ever since his retreat from the city, and had given him admission into all those places which were under his government, in contempt of the several prohibitory edicts of the parliament ; that, the Prince having applied to his Royal Highness, to appoint a person to the command of his troops, he (his R. H.) had accordingly nominated M. Vallon, but that the Queen would not permit him to take upon himself that office ; that the Prince's jealousies and suspicions were but too well founded ; that he had not met with a satisfactory reception at the Palais-Royal ; that his Royal Highness had not judged it adviseable for him to go thither a second time, having

ing received undoubted intelligence of those conferences of which the Prince complained ; and, finally, that he could not suspect the Prince of forming any evil designs against the state. The Prince of Condé's declaration was couched in terms nearly similar to the foregoing. He protested that he had not had the least share, either before or during the time of his imprisonment, in any of the proceedings which had been carried on against the Cardinal ; that, it was true that, since the above period, he had used all his efforts, in concert with the parliament and the whole nation, to preserve the public tranquillity, which would have been much endangered by the Cardinal's return ; that, had the council taken proper precaution to remove the apprehensions of the public, relative to the correspondence openly carried on with the Cardinal, the parliament would not have been necessitated to request their Majesties to confirm the edicts which had been issued by that assembly, and to defeat which appeared to be the design of the late memorial ; that, with regard to the favours with which he was reproached, he thought himself justly entitled to them by his services ; that, after all, neither he nor his friends had so many places in their hands as the Cardinal and his creatures, who commanded in Pignerol, Perpignan, Roses, Brest, Dunkirk, Mardyke, Bergues, Dourlans, la Bassée, Bapaume, Ypres, Courtrai, &c. that something more than mere promises was wanting, to insure the absence of a man, who possessed the keys of so many doors, by which he might re-enter the kingdom whenever he should think proper ; that whoever considered the disagreement which existed between him and the first President [of the parliament] would never impute to him the last change in the council, in which he declared that he had had no share, unless it were in opposing, in concert with the Duke of Orleans, the violent counsels of the Coadjutor and the Count de Montresor, who had advised that the seals should be taken from the first President by force, that the citizens should be excited to take arms, and to repair in a body to the Palais Royal ; that the removal of Messieurs Servien, le Tellier, and de Lyonne, was essential to

his personal security, and had been approved by the general voice of the parliament and the people, and, if the Queen had deigned to comply with his demands in that instance, he would immediately have conformed himself to her Majesty's pleasure; but that, perceiving that a regular correspondence was carried on with the Cardinal at the same time, he had judged it expedient to provide for his safety; that this was the sole cause of his perseverance in withdrawing himself from the court and the council, in which every thing was determined according to the Cardinal's pleasure, and into which, he was well informed, that it was intended to introduce some persons, who were still more devoted to his eminency than those who had been dismissed.

The persons here hinted at were M. de Chateaufort* (an intimate friend of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, and Madame de Rhodes) whom his Highness had caused to be dismissed from his post of Keeper of the Seals, and who was afterwards re-instated, and was appointed to the Presidency of the Council, and the Marquis de la Vieuville, on whom the office of Superintendent of the Finances was conferred.

His Highness then proceeded to declare, that it was true that he had written to the different Parliaments and Cities of the kingdom, but that it had been with the sole intent of justifying himself from the imputation of a design, with which he had been openly charged, to excite a civil war; that the Princess [of Condé] and the Dutchess de Longueville had no other view, in retiring to Montrond, than to shelter themselves from the enterprizes of their enemies; that it was false that he had fortified those places which were in his hands, although he was empowered so to do by the King; and, finally, that the accusation of corresponding with the Spaniards was an absolute calumny, and most injurious to the honour of a Prince of the blood, for which he demanded justice; that he earnestly entreated the assembly to procure him satisfaction in this demand, and to prevail on his Majesty to name the authors

* The Prince had conceived an invincible aversion to him, on account of his having given judgment in the cause of M. de Montmorenci.

authors of the accusation, readily submitting himself to the judgment of the assembly, should it appear that he had acted in any manner derogatory to the dignity of his descent.

After these declarations, and their Majesties memorial had been read, a debate ensued: amongst the variety of opinions, there were two which carried with them much greater weight than the rest; of which the first was, that the Duke of Orleans should be requested to mediate a reconciliation between their Majesties and the Prince; and the latter, that the memorial and declarations, on both sides, should be suppressed, and be no more mentioned. But, as the assembly could not come to any decision on that day, the further consideration of the business was postponed to the 21st of August 1651. As the members retired from the Palais, a number of persons in the hall repeatedly shouted, "No Mazarin! No Coadjutor!" doubtless by order of the Prince of Condé, who came to the parliament on that day with so numerous a train of officers and soldiers, that it is surprizing that the Coadjutor did not meet with much greater insults, he being but very slightly accompanied at the time. For this reason, as it was necessary that he should justify himself before the Parliament on the Monday, he judged it would be great imprudence to expose himself in future to such imminent risque; and therefore took proper measures to provide himself with a strong guard, in which he succeeded marvelously well, considering the shortness of the time, all the Frondeurs having united on this occasion, except the Duke of Beaufort, who had declared himself in favour of the Prince.

As her Majesty considered the Coadjutor as the only person who could support the King's authority in the parliament, she gave orders to the officers of the several corps of the body-guards, gendarmes, and light-horse, to send a number of their men, secretly, to the Palais, on the Monday morning, who should be under the direction of the Marquis de Laigues, and to whom the watch-word of Notre-Dame was given, to distinguish them. The Prince of Condé, also, collected
a numerous

a numerous body of attendants, to whom he gave the watch word of S. Louis.

The Coadjutor came the first to the Palais, accompanied by a considerable number of persons of quality, who placed themselves near the bar of the court, whilst the King's Council occupied all the space between the bar, and the door of the grand chamber, where the tip-staves were accustomed to stand. The soldiers dispersed themselves, as if without design, in such a manner, as to be able to attack the partizans of the Princes on all sides at once. In a word, a riot was so universally expected, that many of the members came to the assembly armed with swords, poniards, and other weapons, which they concealed under their gowns.

The Count de Montresor, also, came, with a view of exculpating himself from the accusations brought against him by the Prince of Condé: but, not being able to gain admittance into the assembly, on account of the crowd, he repaired, with M. Argenteuil, and some others of their party, to the bar of the tip-staves. A considerable number of the friends of the Princes had already taken possession of this spot; which circumstance had nearly proved fatal to the Coadjutor in the end.

His Royal Highness absented himself, on this occasion, as he had done from all the late assemblies; so that the two parties, being totally uninfluenced by any considerations, either of decorum or respect, gave an unbounded loose to their virulency against each other. The Prince of Condé began with declaring, that some evil designs were in agitation against his person; that, in passing through the hall, he had remarked a number of the Coadjutor's friends in the croud; and that ten men per company had been detached from each of the companies of the guards, to whom the watch-word of Notre-Dame had been given. All this the Coadjutor acknowledged; adding, that he had judged it necessary to request the attendance of his friends, in order that he might not again be exposed to a like danger with that by which he had been threatened at the last assembly; but that, if the Prince would dismiss his followers, he would desire his friends

to retire also. Accordingly, the parliament having ordered the hall to be cleared, M. de Champlatreux, and some others of the members, were commissioned to carry that order into execution: and the Prince having sent the Duke de la Rochefoucault with them, to desire his friends to retire, the Coadjutor went in person to dismiss his partizans, totally unapprized of the danger to which he was going to expose himself.

He had scarcely passed the door of the tip-staves chamber, accompanied by M. d'Argenteuil, before five or six of the Prince's footmen, came running towards him, sword in hand, crying, 'down with the Mazarin!' Immediately both parties drew their swords, and the Coadjutor's friends rushed to his assistance, shouting, 'God save the King!' and their antagonists, 'God save the King, and the Princes!' insomuch that, in the space of a moment, three or four thousand naked swords appeared on every side. There is good reason to believe, that there would have been much blood shed on the occasion, had any one began the attack, and also had not the Prince's party been the most numerous, as the Coadjutor's friends were, at first, obliged to give ground, and the soldiers, with their officers at their head, were preparing to surround the adherents of the Princes. But it fortunately happened that the Marquis de Crenan, captain of the Prince of Conti's guards, addressing himself to the Marquis de Fosseuse, the heir of the house of Montmorenci, and one of the Coadjutor's chief friends, observed, that it was a pity that so many brave men, and persons of the first quality, should cut each others throats, in the cause of such a scoundrel as the Cardinal. The Marquis de Fosseuse making answer, that the present contest had no reference to the Cardinal, but that it was expected that every one should join in shouting solely, 'God save the King!' the Marquis de Crenan replied, 'We are all faithful subjects of the King,' at the same time sheathing his sword: which example was immediately followed by all the rest of the persons in the Palais, who unanimously united in a general acclamation of, 'God save the King!' without any further addition. However, the Coadjutor
being

being desirous of returning to the grand chamber, through the apartment of the tip-staves, he there met with the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who had ordered the iron bar to be put to the door, which was thereby kept partly open, but not sufficiently so to admit a man to pass through. The Duke, whilst the Coadjutor was attempting to force himself through, advised M. de Chavagnac, a friend of the Prince of Condé, to poniard him: but that gentleman replied, that he came there to serve the Prince, but not to assassinate any man, and that the Duke might poniard him himself, if he pleased.

The Coadjutor escaped a still more threatening danger, in the attempt to get through the door-way, by the assistance of M. d'Argenteuil, who, doubtless, saved his life on the occasion. For a man, whose name was Pech, one of the lowest of the people, and the greatest clamourer for the Prince of Condé, advanced towards him, accompanied by his wife, with a drawn poniard in his hand, crying out, 'Where is that scoundrel the Coadjutor? I will certainly kill him, if I find him!' At this instant M. d'Argenteuil very dexterously threw the gown of a friar, who chanced to be present, over the Coadjutor, thereby concealing his pontifical robes from view, and, placing himself between the parties, he calmly asked the wretch, whether he meant to murder his archbishop. This question awed him into respect; and, intelligence having been carried to the grand chamber, in the mean time, of the danger to which the Coadjutor was exposed, M. de Champlatreux, though no friend to that prelate, and a domestic of the Prince of Condé, went, in all haste, to the tip-staves apartment, in order to cause the door to be opened for his admission, which he, at length, with much difficulty, effected, with the assistance of M. Noblet d'Auvilliers. The last mentioned gentleman rendered the Coadjutor, whom he only knew by sight, a most essential service on the occasion, by facilitating his admission, and, also, by warding off, as he alledges, a blow made at him, by a man with a naked poniard: in gratitude for which that prelate received

received M. Noblet into his family, where he remained till his death.

Thus the Coadjutor returned to the grand chamber, just at the instant that the people in the hall sheathed their swords, and, M. de Champlatreux having had some conversation with the leaders on each side, both parties retired into the court-yard of the Palais, by different doors, in order to avoid all confusion and dispute, the partizans of the Prince of Condé having insisted that the Coadjutor's friends should quit the hall first.

No business was done in the parliament on this day, the resentment of the members being too much inflamed, to suffer them to act with calmness. At the breaking up of the assembly, the Prince of Condé and the Coadjutor were received by their respective friends, in the court-yard of the Palais, and were conducted home by them. It must not be omitted, that some sharp words passed between the Coadjutor and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, after they had returned to the grand chamber: but the dispute was very cavalierly terminated by the Coadjutor, who, if it is to be credited, addressed the Duke, before the whole assembly, in the following terms: "Friend la Franchise," (which was the Duke's name) "I am a priest, and you are a mere coward: therefore we shall not fight together on this occasion." Nevertheless, the Duke de Brissac, a relation of the Coadjutor, and who always accompanied him whenever he went to the parliament, upon his return home from the assembly, sent M. de St. Auban, a gentleman of Dauphiny, with a challenge to the Duke de la Rochefoucault: but, this circumstance having transpired, the matter was afterwards suffered to drop.

In the afternoon, the Duke of Orleans sent a person to the Coadjutor, to desire that he would not go to the parliament on the next day: but to this he could scarcely be persuaded to consent, although he had been already informed, that the Queen was perfectly satisfied with what he had done, and that she expected nothing further from him. However, as he deemed that the withdrawing himself on this occasion would be, in

some fort, to desert the party, he would not have yielded readily, had not Joli suggested to him a very plausible pretext for absenting himself, by attending the solemn procession of the several religious fraternities, which was to be made on that day, and at which it was customary for the archbishop, and all the curates of the city to be present. This procession is made from the Madelaine to the convent of the Cordeliers, where mass is performed: and as the archbishop's health would not permit him to assist at the ceremony, decency required that the Coadjutor should supply his place; and 'tis probable that he was not displeased with having found the means to secure both his honour and his person.

Nevertheless, he was very near being exposed to as much danger on this occasion, as he had been on the preceding day, although, in the end, the affair turned out advantageously for him. The Prince of Condé chanced, on that day, to leave the Palais, in order to return to the Hotel de Condé, just at the time that the procession was returning from the Cordeliers convent to the Madelaine, and the rabble who went before his Highness's coach, without any respect for the solemnity, began to insult the Coadjutor, as the procession passed thro' the street du Paon with their usual cry of, "down with the Mazarin!" But the Prince silenced them: and when his carriage reached the spot where the Coadjutor was, he ordered it to stop, and the door to be opened; and all those who were with him in the coach got out and threw themselves on their knees, not excepting even M. Gaucourt, who did the same with the rest, although he was of the Protestant religion. The Prince kneeled down in the door-way of the coach, and the Coadjutor gave him his benediction as he passed along, after which he made a very respectful bow to his Highness, who returned the compliment with as much politeness, as if they had been upon the best terms whatever: after which both parties went their way.

After this day, the Coadjutor returned no more to the parliament, not being required so to do by the Queen, who constantly expressed herself well satisfied with

with his conduct. An exculpatory declaration was demanded: for which reason the parliament ordered, that all the different papers should be laid before their Majesties, and that the Queen should be humbly requested to suppress the whole affair, as also; that his Royal Highness should be desired to interpose his good offices towards procuring an accommodation.

The Prince's partizans would fain have carried matters still farther, by adding to the foregoing resolutions, that the Queen should be requested to name the authors of the declaration against his Highness, and to produce the proofs of the charges contained therein. But, the Coadjutor's friends uniting with the court party, on this occasion, the design was rendered abortive.

At length, the Queen having commanded the attendance of the parliament, the Chancellor acquainted them, in her Majesty's name, that, the charge against the Prince of Condé, of carrying on a correspondence with the Spaniards, not having been confirmed, her Majesty was willing to believe it to be void of foundation; that she had since learnt that his Highness had caused Stenai to be evacuated; that his troops were on their march to join the King's army; that he had given orders for stopping the fortifications which had been begun at Montrond, and for reducing the garrisons of those places to their established number of troops; and that her Majesty expected that his Highness should, in confirmation of his good intentions, immediately wait on the King, and return to his seat in the council.

This declaration was dictated by M. de Chateaufneuf, who had been restored to favour, and had been placed at the head of the council, but without returning him the seals, which still remained in the hands of the first President.

It will be proper to relate here the various pretexts which were made use of for depriving M. de Chateaufneuf of the seals: and which were omitted in their due place.

The parliament urgently demanded the declaration for the exclusion of foreigners, and of all Cardinals from
the

the council. The keeper of the seals refused to issue it, maintaining that the Queen, simply as guardian to her son, was not impowered to make a similar law. The reason assigned was a very good one; but the real motive to his refusal was, that he was in hopes of obtaining a Cardinal's hat, in case the marriage of the Prince of Conti, who had the nomination, should take place.

The Coadjutor received intelligence that the Queen, who had constantly enjoined the keeper of the seals to this conduct, had determined to grant the declaration, after the keeper of the seals should have refused it, purposely to throw the hatred of the parliament upon him.

My father was sent to the keeper of the seals, to exhort him to yield; but he continued immoveable in his determination, giving no other reason for his perseverance, than that if the Queen was sincere in her refusal he should have nothing to fear: that, if she was resolved on his ruin, he should only disgrace himself, by consenting to a measure, which had been refused on such just grounds, and that, in the course of a week, he might be dismissed from his post on some other pretext.

When the deputies of the parliament were admitted to the Queen's presence, the keeper of the seals approached her Majesty, to receive her orders on the subject of the requested declaration. She persisted in refusing to grant it: the first President harangued. The keeper of the seals replied, with great strength of argument. The Queen, rising from her seat, said: "Mr. keeper of the seals, set the seal to the declaration which the parliament requires;" and immediately retired into her closet. The keeper of the seals returned to his own house, where he found M. Guenegaud, who took the seals away with him, and delivered them to the first President.

One of the members of the parliament having acquainted the Duke of Orleans, that he had just come from the first President's, where he had seen the seals lying on the table, my father advised his Royal Highness to

go,

go, with the Prince of Condé, and to take them away by force. The Duke approved of the proposal, and consulted the Prince of Condé on the subject, who, being perfectly well acquainted with his Royal Highness's want of resolution, answered that he was ready to accompany him; that he understood the war of the field, but was totally unversed in that of factious incendiaries and printed publications. This was sufficient to induce his Royal Highness to drop his intention.

M. de Chateauneuf sent a message to the Duke of Orleans, by my father, that he would not re-accept of the seals, but that, when his Royal Highness should have taken them into his own possession, he would wait on him daily, to give him his advice:

The seals, therefore, remained in the hands of the first President, who, nevertheless, still continued at the head of the parliament, for which latter office he was very well qualified, whereas in the business of the cabinet he was quite a novice.

It had been imagined that the Queen's declaration would have reduced the Prince of Condé to the necessity of yielding. Her Majesty required nothing of him but what was reasonable, and justified him, in some degree, from the charge of corresponding with the enemies of the state, although it was well known that the accusation was far from being groundless, and that he still continued to concert measures with them for kindling a war in the kingdom. But the Queen dissembled on the subject, purposely to deprive him of every pretext; and as the Prince of Condé insisted upon an exculpatory declaration, in which demand he was supported by the Duke of Orleans, in the parliament, her Majesty, at length, determined to comply with the demand, and, at the same time to issue the edict, which had so long and earnestly been solicited by the parliament, against Cardinal Mazarin: after which, it was the general opinion that the Prince of Condé would no longer scruple to return to the Palais Royal.

But those who examined matters more closely, and who were acquainted with the various intrigues of the
the

the Prince, to win the parliament and the people to his side, rightly judged that even these concessions would not be sufficient to induce him to comply. In fact, finding himself now deprived of every plausible reason for persevering in his refusal, and observing also, that the period of the King's coming of age approached apace, he determined to retire to Bourdeaux, after having written a letter to the King, to excuse his conduct on the occasion.

It is certain, that the Prince adopted this resolution with great unwillingness, foreseeing that it might be productive of disagreeable consequences. Moreover, he felt much repugnancy at quitting his fine seat at Chantilly, and it was with the utmost regret that he saw himself compelled to leave Madam de Châtillon, for whom he had conceived a violent passion. But the Dutches de Longueville, the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and a multitude of officers of the army, by whom he was constantly environed, and who only sought to better their fortunes, at length determined him to take up the trade of war. The Dutches de Longueville and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who had first set on foot the negotiations between the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal, and who had discovered that the latter only trifled with them, were eagerly bent on revenge.

They had entertained and constantly inculcated into the Prince, a notion that the least shew of a preparation for war would so far dismay the Cardinal and the court, that before his Highness could reach Bourges, a carte blanche would be sent after him. The Dutches de Longueville had, moreover, particular and private reasons for wishing for a rupture, as she was very desirous of eluding the solicitations of her husband, who urgently pressed her to return with him; and as nothing could justify her refusal but the pretext of supporting her brother, in a quarrel, in which all knew she was as much, and more concerned than any one else.

Thus the Prince of Condé yielded, in spite of himself in a manner, to the solicitations and resentments of those by whom he was surrounded. He was sensible
of

of the interested motives by which they were actuated, and this drew from him a declaration, that if once they caused him to draw the sword, he would not sheath it again so soon as their caprice might, perhaps, require.

The Duke de Nemours had a great share in determining the Prince to this conduct, and he continued to the end firmly attached to his Highness's interest. But it was otherwise with the Duke de Longueville, who remained quiet in his government of Normandy, much displeased with his wife, and little satisfied with the Prince of Condé. The Duke de Bouillon also, and the Viscount Turenne rejected all the offers which were made them, to induce them to join the party, although the former had, at first, given the Prince hopes of his engaging with him, having had several conferences on the subject with the Duke de la Rochefoucault. Finally, the Prince of Condé, before his departure, concerted some necessary measures with the Duke of Orleans, who, in the mean time, remained at Paris, to be a spectator of the tragedy which was about to begin.

On the 7th of September 1651, the King entered into his fourteenth year: on which day his Majesty, accompanied by all the officers of the crown, and a numerous train of the nobility, richly habited, and mounted on horseback, proceeded from the Palais Royal to the parliament, where he was declared of age, with all the usual solemnities, according to the laws of the kingdom.

Nevertheless, in the midst of this pomp and magnificence, and notwithstanding all the streets were crowded with spectators, it was easy to distinguish the unhappy temper of the times: instead of the customary shouts and acclamations, which ought on this occasion to have been redoubled every moment, a mournful silence almost universally prevailed. The rout of this cavalcade was through the streets S. Honoré, des Lombards, des Arcis, and from thence over the bridge of Notre-Dame, where some of the King's attendants having pointed out to him the Coadjutor, at the window

dow of a house, near the church of S. Denis de la Chartre, his Majesty did him the honour to salute him. When the cavalcade arrived at the Palais, the declaration of the King's being of age was first made in due form, after which his Majesty, being seated on his bed of justice, returned the Queen thanks for the care she had taken of his person and education. This compliment the Queen did not deserve, as she and the Cardinal had taken little care to instruct the King, and to cultivate that happy disposition, which had discovered itself in his Majesty from the first, in order the longer to keep him in dependance, and to preserve to themselves the management of affairs. Then followed an edict against duelling, and another against blasphemers, as also an exculpatory declaration in favour of the Prince of Condé. This was done with the view of depriving him of every further pretext, and for giving the better colour to the measures which it was intended to put in execution against him.

This declaration, however, did not prevent the Prince from continuing his journey; to which the blunder of a courier, whom the Marshal de Grammont had sent after him, to advise him to proceed no further, and to inform him that there were still some hopes of an accommodation, not a little contributed. The Prince of Condé had been for some time at Augerville, a country seat belonging to the president Perrault. The courier, confounding Augerville with Angerville, took the road to the latter place: and the circuit which he was obliged to make was the cause that his Highness did not receive the Marshal's letter till the instant that he was about to depart from Augerville. Having read the letter, he told those about him that, had it arrived a little sooner, he might have been induced to stop where he was; but that, being now on horseback, he would not dismount, nor trust to hopes of which the completion was very uncertain. And thus, without any further deliberation, he directed his course to Bourdeaux, with the small retinue which he had been able to collect; but he was quickly followed by the Prince of Conti,

Conti, who had attended the ceremony of declaring the King of age, by the Dukes de Nemours and de la Rochefoucault, and by most of the persons of quality who had declared themselves in his favour during the time of his imprisonment, except the Duke de Bouillon and the Viscount de Turenne. The Count d'Ognon, who was governor of Brouage, also joined his party, after having held a conference with him at Bourdeaux, where the Prince met with the most welcome reception, both from the people and the parliament; the latter having immediately issued orders for seizing the King's revenues, and for complying, in every respect, with what his Highness should require.

The Prince of Condé then gave orders for raising troops on all sides, and distributed commissions amongst those officers who accompanied him; insomuch that he quickly found himself at the head of an army of ten or twelve thousand regular troops, and ready to enter upon action. But as it was absolutely requisite that the public should be made acquainted, that he had been compelled to proceed to these extremities, from motives of self defence, and mere necessity, his Highness first wrote a letter to the Duke of Orleans, which was composed in the form of a manifesto, containing a recital of all that had passed at court, since the time of his restoration to liberty. In this letter he particularly mentioned the appointment of Messrs. de Chateaufort and de la Vieuville to be members of the council; they being creatures of Cardinal Mazarin, to whom they were far more devoted than Messrs. Servien, le Tellier, and de Lyonne, who had been dismissed solely with the view of deceiving him, and of replacing them with such persons as were his avowed enemies. He also endeavoured to insinuate, that he had undertaken nothing without the concurrence of his Royal Highness, who, he observed, had not approved of the above change any more than himself: concluding with some general protestations of contributing, all in his power, to the execution of such measures, as his Royal Highness and the parliament should judge

judge most conducive to the general welfare, in the present disordered state of public affairs.

The court, being informed of what passed at Bourdeaux, determined to remove to Fontainebleau, on the 26th of September, and from thence to Poitiers, in order to be nearer at hand, to oppose the designs and progress of the Prince of Condé, leaving the management of affairs at Paris to M. de Chateauneuf, the Marquis de Vieuville, the first President, [of the parliament] and, above all, the Coadjutor: and the latter engaged to use all his influence with the Duke of Orleans, the parliament, and the people, in order to keep every thing quiet, and to traverse the designs of the Prince's friends. Not that the Queen and the Cardinal placed an implicit confidence in the Coadjutor, but they were so well convinced, from all the late transactions, of his great sway in the city, that they deemed themselves necessitated, in a manner, to retain him in their service, in order to prevent a general insurrection, which would inevitably have taken place, had that prelate gone over to the other party. His friends improved this opinion of the court so much to his advantage, that they obtained for him the nomination to the Cardinalship, which had been so long promised him. The Dutchess de Chevreuse contributed greatly to bring about this event, by representing to the Queen and the Cardinal, that the late misunderstanding had arisen, solely, from their refusal to fulfil their promise to the Coadjutor; and that, in the present conjuncture, if they neglected to recompense his services, with which they had acknowledged themselves so well satisfied, there was reason to fear that he might once more change his sentiments and conduct.

These arguments were also strongly urged by the princess Palatine, whose credit with the court was greater than that of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, and to whom the honour of completing the business was justly due, Cardinal Mazarin having found, by frequent experience, that this Princess possessed a much greater influence over the Coadjutor, than the Dutchess de Chevreuse could pretend to.

Be

Be that as it may, it is certain that the Dutchesse de Chevreuse and her daughter, and the Marquis de Laigues, were the dupes of the Coadjutor on this occasion, as he resorted almost every evening, in company with Madam de Rhodes, to the princess Palatine's Hotel, in Joli's coach, in which he was conducted from thence to the Hotel de Chevreuse, where he always pretended to be just come from home, without mentioning a word of his visits to the Princess. To render this intercourse the more effectual, during the absence of the court, he gave the Princess a cypher, of which she made very constant use, faithfully communicating to him every thing which concerned him to know, and not omitting even some matters which the interests of the court required to have been concealed. The Coadjutor, on his part, neglected nothing, in all his letters, which might tend to encrease her credit with the Queen, and to induce an opinion in her Majesty, that most of the essential services, which he at that time rendered the court upon all occasions, were the result of the counsels of the princess Palatine: for it must be acknowledged, that he now used all his endeavours to further the designs of the court, by his interest both with the parliament and with the Duke of Orleans, whom he often found it difficult to bring over to his views on account of the great regard which his Royal Highness affected to have for the friends of the Prince of Condé, by whom he was continually surrounded. Although his Royal Highness constantly exerted himself to the utmost, to prevent any measures from being adopted to the prejudice of the Prince's interests, under pretext that he would set about effecting an accommodation, yet the parliament, nevertheless, on the 7th of October 1651, issued an edict, at the instigation of the Attorney General, prohibiting all persons from raising troops, in any part of the kingdom, unless duly authorized by letters patent from the King, signed by a secretary of state, and sealed with the great seal, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treason, and strictly enjoining all governors of provinces, cities, &c. to seize

seize the persons of all such as should be found offending. This edict was plainly levelled at the Prince of Condé, although he was not mentioned in it by name, and it was issued solely in consequence of the advices which had been received of the levees which were making, in his name, on every side, and in order to restrain the people and the officers in their duty, and to prevent their taking arms in his Highness's favour. It was with the same view, and to leave the Prince no excuse for persevering in this line of conduct, that the King wrote a letter to Bourges, by way of answer to that from his Highness, in which his Majesty declared, that he was ready to listen to any proposals which might be made for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, and that, for that end, he had granted the necessary powers to the Duke of Orleans, in conjunction with the Marshal de l'Hôpital, Messrs. d'Aligre and de la Marguerie, counsellors of state, and Messrs. de Mesme, Memardeau, Champosé, and de Cumont, counsellors of the parliament, to negotiate with the Prince, at whatever place should be agreed upon between them. But his Highness having rejected this proposition, on some merely frivolous pretences, his Majesty sent an edict to the parliament, whereby the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Princesses [of Condé] the Dutchess de Longueville, the Dukes de Nemours and de la Rochefoucault, and all those who should in anywise aid them, were declared guilty of high treason, if they did not, in the course of one month, acknowledge their faults, and return to their duty. The Duke of Orleans, under various pretexts, in which he was vigorously supported by the Prince's friends, prevented this edict from being registered for the space of a fortnight. But, at length, the court party having united with the friends of the Coadjutor, it was determined to proceed to a deliberation, at which his Royal Highness declined attending. Accordingly, on the 4th of December 1651, after some time had been spent in debating, it was resolved that the edict should be read, published, and registered, in order to its being executed, according

to its form and tenor; that the Duke of Orleans, should, nevertheless, be requested to continue his endeavours to effect an accommodation, and that, after the time limited by the edict, no process should be instituted against the Princes, and other privileged persons, but in the parliament, in a general assembly of all the courts, conformably to the laws of the kingdom. This edict gave as much satisfaction to the court as it did vexation to the Prince's partizans, who never imagined that the business would have been so soon decided, and who suspected that the Duke of Orleans had not exerted himself so much as he might have done, in opposition to the measure. The truth is, that his Royal Highness, through the suggestions of the Coadjutor, was become of late very cool in the cause, and that, from this time, he supported the Prince's interests from mere complaisance only. However, had he even bestirred himself to the utmost in this business, and had he attended in person at the deliberation, still he would not have been able to have prevented the edict's being registered, as the Prince of Condé had now commenced open hostilities, having caused the Spanish fleet to enter the Garonne, and having invested several different places, amongst others Coignac, of which city he was compelled to raise the siege, by the Count d'Harcourt.

In the mean time, the Prince's friends still continued to negotiate in his behalf, both with the court and with Cardinal Mazarin, to whom they repeatedly sent M. de Gourville, with propositions. These frequent journies supplied the Prince with the means of corresponding with his partizans at Paris, and, besides, furnished M. de Gourville with the opportunity of forming an enterprize against the person of the Coadjutor, of which he doubtless was not the first contriver.

Be that as it may, Gourville came to Paris about the end of the month of October, where he collected together between 40 and 50 of the Prince's dependants, with some officers and soldiers of the garrison of Damvilliers, whom the major, named Rochecorbon,

Rochecorbon, had brought with him. On a certain evening, previously agreed upon, one party of these people were stationed in the little street in which the church of S. Thomas du Louvre stands, whilst the rest posted themselves under the arch of a small bridge, at the end of the street des Poullies, near the lesser Bourbon Palace, with the intent of attacking the Coadjutor in his coach, at his return from the Hotel de Chevreuse, from whence he commonly came back every evening, along the quay of the galleries of the Louvre. The enterprize was extremely well planned, and must, in all probability, have succeeded, as it had been determined to attack the coach on all sides at once, on a spot close to the river's side, and remote from all assistance. But it so happened that the evening proved very rainy, which having prevented Madame de Rhode's attendants from bringing her coach, which was hung with mourning, she requested the Coadjutor to conduct her home, in his carriage, and he was, therefore, obliged, contrary to his usual custom, to return through the street S. Honoré, in order to set that lady down, at the Hotel de Brissac, where she resided, at the corner of the street d'Orleans. This was certainly a very fortunate incident for the Coadjutor, but it was followed, on the next day, by one still more extraordinary. One of the soldiers having heard, from some of his comrades, that the Coadjutor was the person meant to be attacked, and imagining that that prelate might be a friend of M. Talon's, the intendant of the frontiers, with whom he had some acquaintance, went to that gentleman, and communicated to him the whole design, together with the names of those persons by whom the enterprize was conducted, who, he said, had retired the preceding night, much chagrined at their bad success. M. Talon, who supposed the Coadjutor to stand well in the favour of the court, from the circumstance of his late nomination to the Cardinalship, immediately carried this intelligence to him, pointing out the places where Rochecorbon and his associates were to be found, and offering to produce the person from whom he had received his information: so that the Coadjutor, who by
accident

accident had taken physic that day, and did not stir from home, had time to enquire privately into the particulars of the affair. However, this did not prevent his going, on the next day, to pay a visit to his old friend, Madame de Pommereuil, the wife of the President of that name, to whom he was more attached, than to any one else. 'Tis true that, before he left home, he promised Joli, whom he had employed to enquire into the circumstances of the foregoing plot, that he would return before night, but his pleasure having detained him longer than he thought for, he was very nigh paying dear for his neglect, Gourville and his companions having missed of him, in the old street du Temple, by a short quarter of an hour only. This circumstance, also, was communicated by the same person who gave the first information of the design to M. Talon.

The Coadjutor, perceiving, from this incident, that all his steps were watched with the utmost attention, judged it necessary to be more cautious in future: he therefore never went to the Hotel de Chevreuse, of an evening, without a strong party to attend him, and constantly returned home through the street S. Honoré. From hence, Gourville concluded, that his intentions were discovered: and the soldier again gave information, that himself and his comrades had received orders to return to the garrison; that Gourville had already set off for Bourdeaux, and that Rochecorbon was preparing to depart with all speed. This intelligence induced the Coadjutor to apply to the first President for an order to seize the persons of Gourville and Rochecorbon, as being agents to the Prince of Condé, and as having come to Paris with a view of raising troops for his Highness's service, in defiance of the prohibition of the parliament, carefully concealing, however, the real motives to his application, as being unwilling to suffer an affair of that nature to transpire, till a fit opportunity should offer. He also wrote to M. de Chateauneuf, to desire that he would cause Gourville to be taken into custody, upon his arrival at Poitiers, through which place, according to the information of the aforementioned soldier, he was to pass, in his way to Bourdeaux. Spies were, also, placed about the house where Rochecorbon lodged, who

who gave intelligence that he had set off, at break of day, for Bourg la Reine. La Forêt, the lieutenant of the provost of the isle of France, was immediately dispatched after him, and overtook him at Chartres, where he had lain, from whence he was conducted to the Bastille, together with two of his associates. He was immediately interrogated by the lieutenant-criminal, but, at first, denied all knowledge of the affair; however, one of his valets having told another kind of story, and being confronted with him, he confessed the whole; declaring that Gourville had engaged him in a design to carry off the Coadjutor, who was to serve as a hostage for the safety of the Abbé de Silleri, whom the court had caused to be seized at Lyons. A few days afterwards, Gourville, also, was taken into custody, at Poitiers, through the assiduity of M. de Chateauneuf, who sent immediate intelligence of the event to the Coadjutor, informing him, however, at the same time, that the Queen had given instant orders for Gourville's enlargement. It even happened, some time afterwards, that Gourville was again discovered at Paris, where he had stopped, on his return from another journey which he had made to the place of Cardinal Mazarin's residence; and as he was on the point of being seized, by la Forêt and the Coadjutor's equerry, who had followed him very close to some distance from the city, they were prevented from executing their design by an order from the first President.

These incidents greatly embarrassed the Coadjutor and his friends; and, although they did not altogether believe that the Cardinal was concerned in the enterprize, yet they could not refrain from entertaining a violent suspicion that the court must have had a share in it, from the circumstance of the protection which had been granted to Gourville, and that a secret correspondence was carried on between his eminency and the Prince of Condé. Nevertheless, they thought proper to dissemble, and to treat the affair as a matter of no consequence: thus the prosecutions were neglected by degrees, and, at length entirely abandoned. With respect to Rochecorbon, although the proofs against him were sufficient to have convicted him, yet he escaped with

with only five or six months confinement in prison, from which he found means to release himself, by making a hole in the wall, through the evident connivance of M. de Louviers, the son of M. Broussel, the governor of the Bastile, who was, at that time, more attached to the prince of Condé than to the Coadjutor. Gourville, therefore, continued his journies and negotiations, without any interruption, and he went, openly, both to Paris and to the place of the Cardinal's residence, without appearing, however, to be employed by the Prince of Condé, from whom he had no commission, in fact; but he had received full powers from the Dutchess de Longueville, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who were employed much in the same manner as himself. The Prince had devised this expedient, that his name might not appear openly in these negotiations, and that he might reserve to himself the power of disavowing the proposals made by Gourville with his consent, after the return of Cardinal Mazarin. Not but that he very readily entered into these negotiations, and that he earnestly wished to induce the Cardinal to take that step, in hopes that he should extricate himself from his present difficulties, by an advantageous accommodation, and, at least, that his party would acquire fresh vigour from the return of that minister, whose very presence would greatly benefit his cause, and would occasion his quarrel to be considered as that of the public. The truth is, that his Highness's situation now began to wear so unfavourable an aspect, on all sides, that he would soon have been obliged to have submitted himself, had not the Cardinal's too precipitate return caused a total change in the face of affairs. His troops had been defeated in almost every engagement, by those of the King, in Guienne, and that Prince, although very brave, and expert in the art of war, was obliged to yield to the better fortune of the Count d'Harcourt, who certainly was his inferior in point of skill. He had been compelled to raise the siege, not only of Coignac, as mentioned before, but also of Miradoux, a small and ill fortified town, in which the regiment of Champagne was pent up; and, although the besieged were in want of every necessary, they, nevertheless, held out against

all his efforts, till they were relieved by the Count d'Harcourt. He was also obliged, some time afterwards, to evacuate Agen, whither he had retreated, the citizens having risen against him, and barricaded the streets, upon the approach of the King's army. Thus the prince of Condé was, in a manner, shut up within the walls of Bourdeaux, without money and without assistance. Neither were his affairs in a better situation at Paris; all the principal citizens were weary of the war, and the pretext of Cardinal Mazarin's name was no longer heeded by any but the rabble. It was in vain that his Highness's emissaries threw hand-bills into the houses, stuck up papers in the streets, and instigated the populace to go bawling about the city: all this produced no effect. The parliament issued several edicts against him, which were executed, not only by the officers of justice, but also by the citizens, who, frequently, even anticipated them. It is certain, therefore, that the Prince's party was reduced to the last degree of humiliation, and must soon have been utterly ruined, had not the Cardinal, by a strange infatuation, determined to return thus unseasonably, thereby reducing his affairs to a worse state than they were in before. And, indeed, most of his friends advised him against this step, and the Coadjutor repeatedly expressed his disapprobation of the measure, in his letters to the princess Palatine, although he was very sensible that his advice would be unfavourably received, and misinterpreted, by Cardinal Mazarin, and that he might, in consequence, be materially injured in his pursuits at the court of Rome, to obtain the hat to which he had been nominated. But these considerations could not restrain him from declaring his sentiments with freedom; nor could Cardinal Mazarin be induced to lay aside his design, being fully convinced, that all those who endeavoured to dissuade him from it were actuated by interested motives. In this opinion, to tell the truth, he might not be altogether mistaken: as it is certain that, for some time past, the members of the council had formed a strict union amongst themselves, for the purpose of excluding the Cardinal from all future share in the management of affairs; that the Queen
seemed

seemed no longer to be affected by his absence, and that she began to be better reconciled to those about her, insomuch that, when she received intelligence of the Pope's illness, she ordered the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, to write to Cardinal Mazarin, and to represent to him that he could not employ himself better, during his absence, than in going to Rome, in order to support the interests of the King in the conclave, in case the Pope should die, and that such a step might prove the means of facilitating his return. But he was too subtle to fall into this snare, plainly foreseeing the consequences which must result from such a journey. It was even this very consideration which induced him to hasten his return, through fear that the Queen, under that pretext, might yield her assent to some measures, to which it would be impossible afterwards to apply any remedy, and that, from a sickness natural to her sex, she might attach herself to one or other of those who were present with her, forgetting those who were absent.

For these reasons, therefore, he suddenly returned, at the head of an army of seven or eight thousand men, whom he had raised at his own expence, imagining that it would be an easy matter for him to crush the Prince's party, by uniting his troops with those of the King. Having made all the necessary preparations, he gave the command of his troops to the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, who had raised the major part of them, and had given them green sashes as a mark of distinction.

This unforeseen event was attended with all the bad effects which had been predicted, and with many others, also, of which no expectation had been formed, every thing being, thereby, thrown into the utmost confusion and disorder. The first, and principal of these effects was the change of conduct of the Duke of Orleans, who had begun to disengage himself from the party of the Prince of Condé, and who had of late absented himself from the meetings of the parliament, with the view of abating the general ferment. His Royal Highness, being highly incensed that the court should have consented, or even dared to think of Cardinal Mazarin's return, without consulting him, after

so many solemn declarations to the contrary, looked upon himself as being obliged to unite with those who opposed that design, and he manifested a firmness, in the end, of which he had never, hitherto, been deemed capable, often rendering the Prince such essential services, as even far surpassed the expectations of his warmest friends. This appeared chiefly on occasion of the arrival of the Spanish troops, which were led into France by the Duke de Nemours, his Royal Highness having prevented the parliament from opposing their entrance into the kingdom, and from paying any attention to the repeated orders which the King sent to the assembly on that subject, constantly maintaining that they were not Spaniards, notwithstanding they came from the Low Countries, by order of the Archduke, and that they were only Germans, natives of Liege, and other foreigners, to whose service the Prince of Condé was as well entitled, for his defence, as the Cardinal was to that of the troops which he brought with him, in contempt of so many declarations of the King, and of so many edicts of the parliament. Thus all the efforts of the court proved insufficient to attain their ends.

The Duke of Orleans did not stop here : he assembled another body of troops, in his own name and in that of M. de Valois, his son, the command of which he gave to the Duke of Beaufort, in consequence of an edict of the parliament, by which he was requested to use all his endeavours to prevent the Cardinal's return : nor would any opposition which the Coadjutor and his friends could have raised against this edict have proved effectual, seeing that the public resentment against Cardinal Mazarin was now become more violent than ever. The parliament now issued fresh edicts, prohibiting his return, one of the 13th and another of the 21st of December 1651, by which it was ordered, that a deputation, consisting of a president and a certain number of counsellors, should be sent, to acquaint the King with what was doing on the frontiers, and to request his Majesty to pledge his royal word, for the execution of his declaration, which was registered on the 6th of September ; prohibiting all persons whatsoever from giving the Cardinal any assistance on his return, under the penalties

ties contained in the edicts, and of forfeiting whatever posts or dignities they might be possessed of. The Cardinal, however, returned, in spite of the edicts. He was accompanied by the Marshals de la Ferté and d'Hoquincourt, and a number of persons of quality who attended him as far as Poitiers, well knowing that it was the properest method of making their court to the Queen, who dared not, or would not listen to the advice of any one but him, whilst he continued with her. This obliged M. de Châteauneuf to withdraw himself, rightly judging, that his presence would not be agreeable to the Cardinal, and that he should no longer make but an indifferent figure at court.

In the mean time, intelligence of his march having been communicated to the parliament, that assembly issued another edict, ordering that the President de Bellevre, and the other deputies should depart without delay, and declaring Cardinal Mazarin, and all those who had favoured his return, guilty of high treason, disturbers of the public tranquillity, and as having forfeited all their employments in the state, and privileges of nobility, and enjoining the commonality personally to attack the Cardinal and his adherents, wherever they should be found. It was further ordered, by this edict, that the Cardinal's library, and all his other effects, should be sold; that all his benefices should be seized, out of which the sum of fifteen thousand livres should be set apart, for a reward to any one who should deliver him up to justice, either dead or alive; and that the Duke of Orleans should be requested to exert all his authority, towards carrying this edict into execution.

This edict made much noise in the world, especially amongst the clergy, who considered this measure, of setting a price on the head of a Cardinal, as being highly injurious to the honour of their function. Cardinal Châtillon, the brother of Admiral Coligni, who had apostatized, also gave much uneasiness to Cardinal Mazarin, who was well satisfied that, in his own country, an edict of this nature would not have remained long unexecuted. But what disquieted him still more was a small performance of Marigny's, in which the above sum of fifteen thousand livres was divided into a certain
number

number of shares, to be given as rewards to such persons, as should find the means, either of destroying or of maiming the Cardinal; the author having, in a very humorous manner, devised upwards of a hundred different ways, in which his eminency's domesticks, or any of those who had access to him, might make attempts upon his person, against which it would be impossible for him to be on his guard: and the whole was seasoned with that kind of pleasantry, which often makes a stronger impression than the most serious arguments. This Marigny possessed a marvellous talent for these kind of writings, and he had already entertained the public with a number of songs, ballads, and other *Jeux d'Esprit*, of the same nature, during the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé, which had contributed, in no small degree, to render the Frondeurs favourable to his cause. In consequence of the last edict, the parliament sent Messrs. Bitaud and Du Coudray Giviers, to break down all the bridges on the rout which the Cardinal was to take: and, these two counsellors having arrived at Pont-sur-Yonne much at the same time with the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, M. Bitaud was taken prisoner, and it was with difficulty that M. Giviers escaped, having been pursued, to a considerable distance, by some of the Marshal's troops. The news of this incident gave rise to a long debate in the parliament, to whom intelligence was brought that M. Giviers had been killed on the occasion; but, this report proving false, the resentment of the assembly in part abated, and they judged it sufficient to issue edicts for M. Bitaud's releasement, to procure which they even solicited the concurrence of the other parliaments of the kingdom, as if it had been a matter of great importance. It was plain, however, that the court looked upon the affair in a different light, having given orders for M. Bitaud's being set at liberty, almost immediately after his detention.

At length, Cardinal Mazarin, having surmounted all obstacles, arrived at Poitiers, and the Queen, being informed of his approach, prevailed on the King to go to meet him, at the distance of a full league, and the Cardinal was conducted, on horseback, by his Majesty,

to an audience of the Queen, whom impatience had kept upwards of an hour at a window, in expectation of her beloved favourite's arrival. The deputies of the parliament, who arrived nearly at the same time, met with a much cooler reception. The King, however, returned a tolerably gracious answer to their remonstrances, declaring that he was well persuaded of the good intentions of the assembly, and that they would not have taken that step, had they known that the Cardinal had returned to France, solely in obedience to the orders which his Majesty had sent him, to raise a body of troops, and to lead them to his assistance, that he might be enabled, with the greater facility, to subdue the rebels; that the edict which they had issued against the Cardinal was in its nature extraordinary and unexampled; that the Cardinal was desirous of justifying himself, and that his Majesty could not, in reason, reject his demand. In the mean time, the Prince of Condé dispatched M. de la Sale to the parliament, with a letter, and also caused a petition to be presented to that assembly, requiring that the enforcement of the declaration which had been issued against him might be suspended, until the several edicts of the parliament against Cardinal Mazarin, should be executed in their full extent; which demand was granted by the parliament, on the 12th of January 1652. But they did not stop here; for, on the 25th of the same month, after taking into consideration the King's answer to the deputies, they resolved, that his Majesty should be humbly requested to dismiss the Cardinal; that, in the mean time, the edicts which had been issued against him should be carried into execution; and that the other parliaments of the kingdom should be requested to issue similar ordinances: with which some of them complied in the end.

During these transactions at Paris, the Spanish troops, commanded by the Duke de Nemours, advanced, without any opposition, as far as the banks of the Loire; and the Duke de Rohan-Chabot made himself master of the city of Angers. This obliged the King to remove to Saumur, for the purpose of besieging the above city, which held out but a short time, the Duke de Rohan

han having capitulated on the very eve of the arrival of a reinforcement, which had been sent to his relief, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort. This incident, however, did not prevent the Duke of Orleans from taking him (the Duke de Rohan) under his protection, but for which he certainly would never have obtained a confirmation of his patent of Duke and Peer ; every one being persuaded that that nobleman, who had even been attached to the interests of Cardinal Mazarin, had excited this disorder solely with the intent of rendering the parliament favourable to his views. Be that as it may ; he was highly blamed by both parties, the court accusing him of ingratitude and infidelity, whilst the prince of Condé reproached him with cowardice, in surrendering a place which must inevitably have been relieved.

Another incident happened, at this time, which, with proper care, might have been made productive of important consequences. The King issued orders for converting the monies due, as interest, to the proprietors of the fund of the Hotel de Ville, to the payment of the troops, and other exigencies of the war. The parliament, hereupon, instantly took the alarm, and the affair was carried so far, that it was, at length, determined to convene a general assembly of all the superior courts.

Accordingly, several conferences were held, in the chamber of St. Louis, at which the Prince of Condé's emissaries made many attempts to engage the superior courts, and the city corporation, in an union similar to that, which had taken place in the year 1648. But all their endeavours proved ineffectual ; the deputies having declared, that they were not empowered to confer on any other business, than that of the fund, with which the matters proposed by the Prince's friends had no connection. Thus, after a considerable time had been spent in the consideration of this affair, the whole was suffered, by degrees, to drop, the council having issued some edicts, by which provision was made for the security of the property of those concerned in the fund.

The

The first ardour of the parliament being now much abated, on the subject both of this and all the other affairs, which had been the objects of their late deliberations, those who had so eagerly sought to bring about the general union, found it impossible to carry their point, although the Marshal d'Estampes had made a fresh proposal, to the above purport, which was, at first, approved by many, but was afterwards rejected by the majority of the assembly. The partizans of the Prince of Condé, however, were not dispirited, and the King's troops having drawn near to Paris, after the reduction of Angers, his Highness seized that opportunity to excite afresh, the resentment of the parliament, under pretence that this was a direct violation of certain edicts, which that assembly had formerly issued, prohibiting the troops from approaching nearer than the distance of ten miles round the city. But the Marshal de l'Hopital, the governor of Paris, eluded this artifice, by an offer which he made, in his Majesty's name, to remove those troops, in case his Royal Highness and the Duke de Nemours would remove theirs also. Thus the Prince's design, although well imagined, produced no effect. The Marshal de l'Hôpital was a man of resolution, to which quality he was indebted for his promotion to the government of that great city, in those critical times, and alio to the recommendation of the princess Palatine, who had procured him that post, at the request of her intimate friend, Madame de Rhodes, the Marshal's daughter-in-law. It was through means of these two ladies, also, that a close connection was formed between the Coadjutor and the Marshal, who, acting in concert against the Prince of Condé, easily frustrated all his measures, both in the city and in the parliament. For, although the Coadjutor was now invested with the character of a Cardinal, which consequently excluded him from sitting any longer in the parliament, yet his friends continued to act in that assembly, with more vigour than ever, being animated by his new dignity, from whence they vainly imagined, that he would, in time, acquire a far greater degree of power

and wealth, than he had ever yet possessed. So deeply had some of these gentlemen imbibed this notion, that, although they were sensible that he had no fortune, they, nevertheless, with the utmost readiness, tendered him their purses, among others Messrs. Daurat, le Fevre, de la Barre, and Pinon du Martrai ; so that the Coadjutor, in a short time, found himself in possession of no less a sum than fifty thousand crowns in cash, and as much more in bills, on his own credit only. Neither had he been at much expence in obtaining the hat, save for the charges of some journies made by the Abbé Charier, whom he had employed as his agent, in that business, at Rome, and, also, for some presents of jewels to the princess de Rossane, who had espoused the nephew of Pope Innocent the Xth. For the sovereign Pontiff was so well inclined to serve him, being prepossessed with such an exalted idea of the Coadjutor's talents, and with so slight an opinion of the abilities of Cardinal Mazarin, that the business of the negotiation for the hat, met with scarcely any obstruction on the part of his Holiness, who imagined that the Coadjutor would immediately succeed to the Cardinal's post, of prime minister, and that he might, perhaps, be more attached to himself, and to the Holy See, than his predecessor had been. The only circumstance which, for a short time, retarded the business was, that he could not be admitted to that dignity but at a general promotion, which the Pope was necessitated to make, in favour of the other crowned heads. Moreover, the Bailly of Valencay, who was afterwards grand prior of France, the French ambassador at the court of Rome, secretly traversed all his designs, by order of Cardinal Mazarin, not daring to do it openly, because his instructions were conceived in very ambiguous terms, his eminency being obliged to keep fair with the Coadjutor, of whose services he stood much in need. Thus, it was judged sufficient to insinuate to the court of Rome, that that prelate was a Jansenist in his principles : and his foes were very near carrying their point by this artifice, seeing that, in those times, the very title of Jansenist was at least as odious at Rome,

as that of Mazarin was in France ; M. Chighi, the secretary of the briefs, having been so much alarmed by this suggestion, that he obliged the Pope to demand of the Coadjutor a formal renunciation of the tenets of Jansenism, under his own hand. The Pope, for his part, gave himself little concern about the matter ; but M. Chighi, who was totally devoted to the Jesuits, would not recede from his demand, so that the Abbé Charier found it necessary to dispatch a courier, express, to the Coadjutor, to desire that he would send him the abjuration required. With this, however, the Coadjutor refused to comply, although, in his heart, he was neither a Jansenist, nor a Molinist, and troubled himself very little with the disputes of the times. Nay, he was even on the verge of adopting a directly contrary conduct, having begun a Latin letter, which was never finished, whereby he proposed to justify his refusal, and to prove, by a multiplicity of arguments, that the Pope was not authorized to demand any such declaration from him. This imperfect letter was shewn to all those of his friends with whom he was, in any degree, familiar, but there the matter dropped : and it happened very fortunately for him, that the face of affairs being now totally changed, on occasion of the reports which were spread of Cardinal Mazarin's intended return, the Abbé Charier, availing himself properly of the conjuncture, represented to the Pope, that all his good intentions towards the Coadjutor must, inevitably, be defeated, should the Cardinal once return to the court, where he would rule more despotically than ever, and be enabled to crush his antagonist, unless his Holiness should obviate the ill effects of which his return would be productive, by immediately conferring on the Coadjutor the dignity which he solicited, whereby he would put him in a condition of supporting himself, without any other aid : to this the Abbé added, that he had received certain intelligence, that a revocation of the Coadjutor's appointment to the Cardinalship, was then on the road, which was absolutely true. These arguments made such an impression on the Pope, that he instantly determined to proceed to the

the promotion, without any further delay, having first obliged the Abbé Charier to sign an engagement, to procure from the Coadjutor the declaration which had been required of him. This determination, although it was kept very secret, nevertheless, came to the ears of the Bailly de Valencay, who, being empowered to revoke the nomination, in case of need, immediately sent, on the Sunday evening, to demand an audience for the next morning. This demand having been granted him without hesitation, he concluded that he had nothing to fear as yet. The Pope, however, who strongly suspected his intentions, assembled the consistory, with as much privacy as possible, at a very early hour on the Monday morning, the 18th of February 1652: and, having begun with the business of the promotion, he waited, with great composure, to receive the ambassador, who, finding his design thus defeated, sent a message to his Holiness, desiring to put off the audience to another opportunity. This disappointment must have affected him the more sensibly, as, on the Sunday evening, he received a packet, by a courier who had been purposely dispatched to him, containing not only a revocation, in due form, of the Coadjutor's appointment, but also a nomination in favour of himself. At least such a report was current, at the time, in Rome. Be that as it may, the news of this promotion having been brought to Paris, by the Grand Duke's courier, who had out-rode the messenger whom the Abbé Charier had dispatched on the occasion, the Coadjutor immediately took upon himself the title of Cardinal de Retz. When this intelligence was communicated to his friends, they all expressed the utmost joy, excepting the Dutches de Chevreuse and her daughter, who seemed to be but little affected by it, seeing that they had discovered the connection which subsisted between that prelate and the princess Palatine. He still, however, continued upon good terms with them: neither did they omit any of those external demonstrations of satisfaction, which are customary in such cases. But it was plainly to be perceived that their joy was affected and insincere, especially

cially with respect to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who could not dissemble so well as her mother did, and who, 'tis possible, might have other causes of complaint against him, than what sprung merely from a political jealousy, and from her knowledge of his connection with the princess Palatine. Cardinal de Retz, on his side, was much displeased that the Dutchesse de Chevreuse had appointed the Abbé Fouquet her chief agent at the court; so that each party pretended to have certain causes for disgust, which, however, were known but to few persons: all the exterior marks of a good understanding between them having been preserved to the time of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's death, which happened a few months afterwards.

The circumstances of this lady's death caused an universal surprize, as she had been ill for three or four days only, of an extraordinary disorder, by which she was, at length, carried off, in a sudden fit of suffocation. It was remarked that her face and body became quite black, after her decease, as did, also, all the silver utensils, &c. which were in her chamber; from whence a report arose, that her death had been occasioned by poison, which she had either taken herself, or which had been administered to her by her mother, for some private reasons. Be that as it may, Cardinal de Retz received the intelligence with an indifference, which greatly disgusted those who knew on what terms he had always lived with her.

Whatever satisfaction Cardinal de Retz's friends might derive from his promotion, it proved highly displeasing to the adherents of the Prince of Condé, and even to those also, who had never joined with either party, and who, now, plainly perceived that, in all the late transactions, he had been influenced solely by a regard for his own private interest, and that he would, in future, blindly devote himself to the service of the court. This opinion threatened to be of dangerous consequences to him, more especially as his enemies endeavoured to inspire the Duke of Orleans with the same unfavourable sentiments; but the attempt proved ineffectual, and his Royal Highness was

was one of those persons, who manifested the most sincere joy on occasion of his acquisition of dignity. He even did him the honour of a visit, at his own palace; and, although he was attached to the interests of the Prince of Condé, yet he constantly listened to, and frequently followed the counsels of the new Cardinal.

For this reason, Cardinal de Retz was always very cautious not to espouse the interests of Cardinal Mazarin in presence of his Royal Highness; but, to make amends, he seized every opportunity of suggesting to him, that it was not for his advantage to contribute to the aggrandizement of the Prince of Condé. This was his Royal Highness's most sensible part, in which he lay open to every kind of impression. No man was so well acquainted with this jealousy of the Duke of Orleans as Cardinal de Retz, and he frequently availed himself of it, to dissuade him from carrying into execution such measures, as he had determined on, in the Prince's favour. It was thus that he prevailed on him to drop his intention of going to Orleans, after the Prince's friends had used all their endeavours to persuade him to undertake that journey, in order to prevent the design of the King's army, which was advancing on that side; and this he might easily have effected, that city being the capital of his domain. But, tho' they failed in their application to him, yet they were more successful with his daughter, Mademoiselle, who yielded to their request, and was introduced into the place through an aperture, which was made in the walls, by some boatmen: after which, 'tis true, that the court dropped all thoughts of establishing its residence in that city. But, had his Royal Highness gone thither in person, his presence would have produced a very different effect, and would, doubtless, have greatly benefited the Prince's affairs at Paris.

Thus, although the Prince's friends had carried their point on that side, yet they did not think this sufficient, judging that it would be requisite for them to find some means of fixing the Duke of Orleans more firmly
in

in their interest, they having been deceived in their dependance on him in several late instances. They, therefore, wrote to the Prince of Condé, who was then at Bourdeaux, to acquaint him that the present state of his affairs at Paris required his instant presence in that city, seeing that the Cardinal de Retz's influence over the Duke of Orleans encreased every day, and that his party, being united with that of the court, had acquired such a degree of power in the city, that, in case of the approach of the King's troops, it would be impossible for them (his Highness's friends) to maintain their ground. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Prince of Condé determined to return to Paris, more especially as he had met with but indifferent success in Guienne, and as it was become necessary to appoint some other person to the command of the Spanish troops, in the room of the Duke de Nemours. He was in hopes, also, that the negotiations which were then carrying on, by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and M. Gourville, with Cardinal Mazarin, would be rendered less difficult by his presence, and that he should be better enabled to regulate his conduct, accordingly as circumstances should arise.

In the mean time, upon the first report of the Prince's intention to return to the city, the Marshal de l'Hôpital, the provost of the merchants, and the sheriffs, accompanied by many of the principal citizens, waited on the Duke of Orleans, and represented to him that the Prince ought not to be received, till he had first justified himself from the charges contained in the declaration which had been issued against him. To this the Duke of Orleans replied, that the Prince did not come to create any disturbance, but merely for the purpose of conferring with him, and that his Highness would not stay longer than four and twenty hours in the city. The Prince's partizans, nevertheless, took this opportunity to stick up papers in different parts of the city, in order to excite the people to rise, instructing their emissaries also to go about the streets, shouting "God save the King! God save the Princes! down with the Mazarin!" in which they succeeded
so

so well, that his Royal Highness was obliged to send his own guards, and to arm a party of the citizens, in order to disperse a large mob, who were attempting to pillage the Hotel de Nevers, belonging to M. Guene-gaud, one of the secretaries of state; and it was found necessary to hang some of the rioters, at the end of the New Bridge. This being the disposition of the citizens, it is possible that the Prince of Condé might have found it rather difficult to get admission into Paris, had he not been so fortunate as to obtain some small advantages over the King's army, which was posted on the banks of the Loire, under the command of the Marshal d'Hoquincourt: but the news of this incident served to keep every one in awe, none daring now to oppose his return.

The Prince of Condé arrived at Paris on the 11th of April 1652. He was accompanied by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and a few others of the nobility, and had travelled, for the greater security, under the character of a cornet, in the train of the Marquis de Levy; being conducted through the whole journey, by a gentleman named St. Hippolite, who was perfectly well acquainted with the roads. It happened one night, as they were at supper, at the house of an old gentleman, a friend of the Marquis de Levy, the master of the house, being totally ignorant of the quality of his principal guests, began to recount several facts, relative to the Prince's family, which were not much to their honour, and with which the Prince was, doubtless, entirely unacquainted. This incident greatly disconcerted his Highness, as it did also the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who was not a little interested therein. The Marquis used every endeavour to silence the old gentleman, but without effect. However, these anecdotes, though authentic and of a very disagreeable nature, did not at all interrupt the mirth of the company. His Highness concealed his chagrin, and pretended to join in the general laugh: and the next day they pursued their journey, the Prince rallying his companions very freely on the adventure of the preceding evening. Amongst other circumstances, it was particularly observed that, when his Highness was upon the point of joining

joining the army, he said to Chavagnac, that he had already changed masters once, and that it was very probable he might change again: to which that gentleman bluntly replied, that it was true, and that he would continue to change, until he should find a good one: which, in fact, happened quickly afterwards. The Duke of Orleans met the Prince, about a league from the city, and, on the next day, conducted him to the parliament, where they both protested, that the public welfare and the peace of the kingdom had been the sole motives of their conduct: after which the Prince, addressing himself to the assembly, returned them thanks for having stopped the execution of the King's edict against him; he assured them that it had never been his intention to disturb the public tranquillity; that his sole wish should ever be to employ his life, as he had already done, in the King's service, and that he was ready to disband his troops, as soon as Cardinal Mazarin should quit the kingdom, and the edicts issued against him should be put in execution; concluding with a request, that this his declaration might be registered, and that the assembly would be pleased to grant him a certificate thereof. This specious harangue was received with much applause, and strongly influenced the generality of the members in his favour; more especially as, at this time, the court openly countenanced Cardinal Mazarin, and the King had rejected the earnest solicitations of the deputies of the parliament, to receive their remonstrances; to which his Majesty had only replied by a Letter de Cachet, enjoining the parliament to send all the informations, decrees, &c. against Cardinal Mazarin, to the keeper of the seals, to be disposed of as his Majesty should judge fit, and ordering that, in the mean time, the execution of the edicts, of the 6th of September, should be suspended. The parliament having assembled on this business, several days elapsed before they could come to any resolution: at length, however, it was determined that the same deputies should be sent, to reiterate their application to the King, and that, in order to induce his Majesty to return an answer thereto, they should, likewise, lay before him the declarati-
ons

ons of the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé: and it was further resolved, that the said declarations should be sent to all the other parliaments and superior courts, with a request, that they, also, would depute some of their members to the court on the same business; and, finally, that a general assembly should be held at the Hotel de Ville, at which his Royal Highness and the Prince should be entreated to make a declaration, similar to that which they had made to the parliament, and that this general assembly should also be invited to send deputies, conjointly with the other superior courts and companies, to demand the removal of Cardinal Mazarin from his Majesty's councils and dominions. All these resolutions were accordingly executed. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé having repeated their declarations at the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and in the general assembly, at the Hotel de Ville, the necessary measures were, in consequence, entered upon, as specified in the foregoing resolutions of the parliament: but it was pretty apparent that this conduct was adopted with reluctance, and through mere complaisance to the Princes. M. de Nicolai, the first President of the chamber of accounts, even declared it as his opinion, that all their remonstrances would be ineffectual, and that it were better to mediate an accommodation between their Highnesses and the court: to which some of the masters of accounts added, that the most efficacious measure would be, to prohibit all persons from levying troops, unless duly authorized by the King. M. Amelot, the first President of the court of aids, spoke with still greater freedom, and told the Prince of Condé, before the whole assembly, that he was astonished that his Highness, after having so gloriously triumphed over the enemies of the state, should now combine with them against the King, and that, not satisfied with this, he should come to make his boasts thereof before that company.

As the general deputation was still delayed, from day to day, this circumstance evinced, yet more clearly, the sentiments of the companies, all of them being very assiduous in their endeavours, to find pretexts for withdrawing

withd
porati
again
order
Neu
depri
factio
quic
troop
In
no ti
they
Gou
thof
treat
com
dien
Que
her
of
his
the
nef
the
to
pro
cou
wh
no
by
G
ha
sta
ha
te
en
w
P
fi

withdrawing their assent to that measure. The corporation of Paris, in particular, laid a complaint against the Princes before the parliament, for having ordered the bridges of Charenton, S. Cloud, and Neuilly to be broken down; by which the city was deprived of its usual supply of provisions. This transaction caused some disturbance, which, however, quickly subsided, when it was known that the King's troops were posted at Melun and Corbeil.

In the mean while, as the Princes perceived that no time was fixed for the departure of the deputies, they sent Messrs. de Rohan, de Chavigny, and de Goulas to the court, with declarations, similar to those which had been made in the parliament, and to treat of a peace, but with express orders to hold no communication with Cardinal Mazarin. This expedient was suggested to the Prince of Condé by the Queen of England, who informed him that the King,* her son, having visited his Majesty, at Corbeil, had, of his own accord, proposed a conference, to which his Majesty declared his readiness to assent, in case the Princes should be inclined thereto: their Highnesses therefore, lest the public should suspect that they were averse to a peace, found themselves obliged to comply, although they rightly conjectured, that this proposal was nothing more than a feint, by which the court hoped to check the progress of the measures which were then carrying on. In fact, the court paid no regard either to the declarations or proposals made by the above gentlemen, and they returned from St. Germain's without effecting any thing, although they had a conference with Cardinal Mazarin, during their stay, which, it might have been imagined, would have greatly facilitated the business. But that minister only sought to engage his opponents in futile and endless negotiations; by means of which he hoped to weary them out, and to accomplish his designs. The Princes, therefore, now confined all their views to the single point of procuring the execution of the last edict.

The

* Charles the Second, who was then in exile, at the court of France.

The Attorney General was sent to St. Germain's, to demand an audience for the deputies, which, after many delays, was at length granted. All the courts, therefore, went to St. Germain's, one after another, with their remonstrances. Neither the chamber of accounts, nor the court of aids were so well received, as the conduct of their respective first Presidents, towards the Princes, seemed to entitle them to expect they should have been. The corporation of the city met with the most favourable reception; as the court well knew that most of the members of that body were firmly attached to its interests. With regard to the parliament, his Majesty consented, but with a feigned reluctance, and, as if solely induced thereto by the Queen's solicitations, to permit their remonstrances, against Cardinal Mazarin, to be read: after which, the deputies were told, that his Majesty would return an answer in a few days, as soon as he should have taken the advice of his council on the subject; and that, with respect to the removal of the troops, his Majesty had, on his part, nominated the Marshal de l'Hôpital, to confer with any person whom the Duke of Orleans should appoint, on the measures necessary to be taken in that business; for which purpose, also, a passport had been sent to his Royal Highness.

It was very apparent, that this whole procedure was a mere subterfuge, whereby the court meant only to create delays, in order to avail itself of any favourable event, to which time might give birth; on which kind of craft his eminency always placed a great dependance. * But, in the present instance, he found himself deceived; through the vigorous conduct of the Princes in prosecuting their schemes. For, on the deputies return, the parliament, immediately, took into consideration

* Cardinal Mazarin often jested, with some of his intimate friends, on the credulity of those, who ascribed to his talents and address many favourable incidents, which were, in fact, the offspring of time and chance alone. He would observe, that it had often happened to him, after having, in vain, tortured his invention for expedients, to be obliged to trust the event to fortune, who, in an admirable manner, disposed every thing to a happy issue.

consideration their report of what had passed at St. Germain's, and it was determined to send them back to the Court with a request, that his Majesty would be pleased to nominate commissioners, to confer with them, or with such other persons as the parliament should appoint, on the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and of re-establishing the King's authority. With this request the court thought proper to comply, upon being informed that the Duke of Lorraine had entered France, with an army of seven or eight thousand men. Not but that many incidents arose, during the court's stay at St. Germain's, which might justly alarm the Cardinal, but it is equally certain, that several other circumstances happened, to delude him into an expectation of attaining his ends. Scarce a day passed, in which the people did not give evident tokens, both of their attachment to the Princes and their virulence against the Cardinal. The Provost of the Merchants, and the whole city-corporation were frequently attacked by them; on one occasion in particular, when, in coming from the Luxembourg Palace, they were so violently assaulted, as to be obliged, for the preservation of their lives, to take refuge in some houses at the bottom of the street de Tournon; all their coaches being destroyed by the mob. Cardinal de Retz was subjected, equally with the rest, to the insults of the populace, whenever necessity drove him into that quarter of the city; and, as the Prince of Condé's party made him the chief object of their designs, his situation would have been more peculiarly dangerous, than that of any one else, had he not taken the precaution never to go abroad without a guard of armed men. Most of the citizens, however, were convinced, that his attachment to Cardinal Mazarin was not such as his enemies reported it to be. This violent conduct of the people gave birth to much uneasiness and apprehension in the mind of Cardinal Mazarin, who was constitutionally susceptible of the impressions of fear. Besides, new libels were dispersed, daily, throughout the city, against both him and the court: and, although Cardinal de Retz procured answers to be written to these pieces, and often answered

answered them himself, with a force of argument far superior to that of the assailants, yet nothing could abate the rage and animosity of the people, who, it was much to be feared, would, at length, proceed to extremities.

It is certain that the court party, being supported by most of the citizens of note and reputation, used all their efforts to repress the turbulence of the people, and to bring about an accommodation ; which became very apparent on occasion of a proposal made by the Duke of Orleans, under pretext of preventing any disturbance in the city, that the gates should be guarded by the citizens. For the governor, the Provost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs opposed the design, at first, with all their might : but they afterwards consented to it, in consequence of an order from the King, which was issued at the instigation of those who had most weight among the citizens, and who engaged to take such effectual measures, that the court, instead of sustaining any injury, should derive great advantages therefrom. The Duke of Orleans made another unsuccessful attempt to get the city into his hands ; by recommending it to the parliament, in order to shelter themselves from the continual insults, which they, also, met with from the populace, to put themselves under the immediate protection of his Royal Highness. But this was judged to be an innovation of too great importance ; as tending to divest the magistrates of their authority, and to alter the ordinary course of the government. The Prince of Condé, also, endeavoured, though ineffectually, to excite the citizens to take arms on occasion of the attack of S. Cloud, by M. de Turenne. He rode through the streets on horseback, exhorting the people to join him, in order to attempt the relief of that place ; but he could only collect a small number of volunteers among the citizens, at the head of whom he marched, not to S. Cloud, but to S. Denis, of which he made himself master without much difficulty. The city of Paris disavowed this enterprize, in a letter to the King, declaring that the whole had been concerted without their intervention. Moreover, the King's troops retook the place, on the
next

next day, and, to shew of what small importance they deemed that post, they immediately afterwards abandoned it.

This disavowal, which sufficiently indicated the public disposition, was succeeded by another incident, of equal consequence; which was the absolute refusal of the parliament to comply with the Duke of Orleans's earnest solicitations, to admit the Duke of Lorraine into their assembly. These different occurrences held all parties in suspense; and, whilst the Princes agents used every endeavour to engage the parliament and the city in their interest, the partizans of the court were busied in seeking the means to bring about a peace, and the King's return to the city. With this view, the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs proposed to the parliament to appoint a general procession, with the shrine of St. Genevieve, the patroness of Paris, to supplicate heaven for a peace; seeing that such exterior acts of devotion often produce a great effect on the people's minds, in doubtful and difficult conjunctures. This was accordingly executed, with the utmost pomp and solemnity; the parliament, all the superior courts, the corporation of Paris, and all the ecclesiastical and secular fraternities, in general, attending on the occasion: which availed not a little to inspire an universal inclination for peace. The parliament, also, now began to make this the subject of their deliberations, and to pave the way to a conference, which was earnestly desired by the court, and which the Princes endeavoured, by all possible means, to avert, in hopes that the army of the Duke of Lorraine, which was then posted near Briecomte-Robert, would soon enable them to make their own conditions. But they were much surprized, when they learnt that the Duke had retired, upon the first intelligence of the Viscount de Turenne's approach, who, having with the utmost dispatch crossed the river at Corbeil, with the King's army, after raising the siege of Etampes, had made the necessary dispositions for attacking him before the Princes could join him with their troops: so that, finding himself closely pressed,

he

he was compelled to enter into an accommodation with the court, (the King of England acting as mediator) whereby he could only obtain permission to retire with his army, unmolested, to the place from whence he came; without any other conditions whatsoever. It was insinuated, that he had suffered himself to be gained over, with a very inconsiderable sum of money: But the real fact is, that he was forced into the above measure, from a consciousness of the great inferiority of his army to that of M. de Turenne, and from a full conviction that it was not the design of the Spaniards to fight the Prince of Condé's battles. So that his Highness, who had advanced to the Duke's relief, was obliged to retire, with precipitation, to S. Cloud. In the mean time, the deputies returned from Melun, where the court had taken up its residence, with a fresh answer from the King, by which his Majesty declared his willingness to dismiss Cardinal Mazarin, although he was convinced that the Princes only made use of his eminency's name as a cloak to their evil designs. His Majesty, therefore, required to be informed whether, in case of the Cardinal's dismissal, their Highnesses would desist from all further cabals and intrigues; (well knowing that their treaty with the Spaniards was of a general nature, and contained no compulsion on the latter to lay down their arms at the requisition of the princes) whether, having obtained a compliance with the foregoing demand, they would not exact some further concession from his Majesty; whether they and their partizans would immediately return to their duty, and engage directly to disband all their troops, both native and foreign, and to surrender up all those places of which they were then in possession, together with Bourdeaux and the other rebellious cities. The Princes used all their endeavours to excuse themselves from giving a direct answer to these questions, insinuating that the whole was nothing more than an artifice of Cardinal Mazarin. But they were, at length, obliged to comply with the wishes of the people, and to promise that they would strictly fulfil those articles, whenever his Majesty should have dismissed

dismissed the Cardinal : which step they were induced to take, from a thorough conviction, that matters would otherwise be accommodated without their concurrence, and that the Governor and the Corporation would take effectual measures to repress the insolence of the populace, and to provide for the security both of the parliament and the city.

The Prince of Condé had observed, also, that the Duke of Orleans began to be disgusted by the frequency of these disturbances ; from whence he inferred that, in case the court should incline to give his Royal Highness ever so slight a satisfaction, on his demands respecting Cardinal Mazarin, he should be inevitably deserted, not only by him but by most of his other partizans also, who were ready to seize any pretext, to extricate themselves from their engagements. The declarations of the Princes being therefore drawn up, the parliament ordered, that the deputies should carry them, forthwith, to the King ; enjoining them, at the same time, to acquaint his Majesty, that the assembly was strongly disposed to contribute, by all possible means, towards bringing about a happy accommodation. This resolution of the parliament conducted greatly to ruin the Prince's affairs, and occasioned a violent clamour amongst his Highness's emissaries, who behaved, on this and the following days, in a more turbulent manner than they had ever done before. However, no disturbance happened at this time, as several companies of the city-guard did duty every day, by order of the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs, at all the avenues of the Palais, for the security of the parliament. To this precaution the people could not be reconciled for some time ; and it cost near forty persons their lives, in a tumult which happened on the Goldsmith's Quay. As Colonel Menardeau Champré, a counsellor of the grand chamber, and an avowed partizan of Cardinal Mazarin, was passing through that quarter, with his company, near the lesser gate of the Palais, a mob arose, and followed him, crying out, " There goes a Mazarin !" They pursued him in this manner as far as the Brazen

Horfe, where another company was ftationed, who not only joined with the rioters in their insults, but alfo fired upon M. Champré's party, which, however, was returned fo briskly, that the affailants had good caufe to repent of their temerity. The court derived great advantage from the re-eftablifhment of the city-guard; and its party was now become fo powerful, by the acceffion of all thofe who wifhed for a peace, and declared themfelves fo openly, that, when M de Turenne had compelled the Prince of Condé to take fhelter, with his army, under the walls of Paris, all the efforts of his Highnefs's friends could not, for fome time, procure him admittance into the city, although he had prefented himfelf, for that purpofe, fucceffively, at the feveral gates of la Conference, S. Honoré, S. Denis, S. Martin, and even at that of S. Antoine. The laft, however, was at length opened to him, partly through the entreaties, and partly through the authority of Mademoifelle; * after ſhe had obliged the King's troops to retire, by firing the cannon of the Baftile upon them; which ſtep preferved the Prince and his army from total deſtruction. The citizens openly rejoiced in the Prince's misfortune, and many of them even fired upon his army, whiſt it remained without the walls, nor did ſome ſcruple to boaſt of the attempts which they had made againſt his Highnefs's own perſon. The Duke of Orleans, ſeemed very little more concerned than the reſt, on this occaſion, and he could not be induced, by all the ſolicitations of thoſe about him, to ſhew himſelf in the ſtreets during the battle, in order to make it appear that he took part in the event. In a ſhort time after this tranſaction, the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs, animated by the ſucceſs of the King's arms, took this opportunity to convene a general aſſembly, according to an order of the parliament, which had been iſſued ſome time before. To this aſſembly they invited all thoſe members of the different companies, whom they knew to be moſt diſpoſed to peace, with the view of laying before them a propoſal for the King's return, free of all reſtrictions: which would certainly have been adopted, had not the Princes,

* The title of the Duke of Orleans's eldeſt daughter.

Princes, who had received intimation of the design, repaired to the assembly, in order to oppose it with all their power. The attempt was difficult: and the Prince of Condé, who was well acquainted with the sentiments of the deputies, judging that he should not be able to bring them over to his views by ordinary methods, determined to intimidate them into a compliance therewith.

For this purpose, he introduced a large number of officers and soldiers into the city, who, dispersing themselves through those parts adjacent to the Hotel de Ville, mingled with the multitude and the other emissaries of the Prince; wearing straw in their hats, for a badge of distinction, as they had before done, on the day the battle was fought at the gate of St. Antony. By degrees, they compelled every one who passed that way to assume this badge; till it became, at last, so common, and so necessary also, that none, not even the women or the priests, dared to appear without it. Although the above circumstances sufficiently indicated an approaching tumult, this did not deter the Marshal de l'Hôpital, the Provost of the Merchants, the Sheriffs, and most of those persons who had been invited to attend, from repairing to the Hotel de Ville, at about two o'clock in the afternoon: but it was only to adjourn the assembly to a future day, by virtue of a Letter de Cachet from his Majesty, which the Marshal brought with him. This measure being approved of by a majority of the deputies present, the Princes were obliged to retire, after thanking the city for the admission granted to their troops, and making a tender of their services. As the Prince of Condé had declared aloud, in coming out of the assembly, that the deputies were all Mazarins, and that they only meant to protract matters, his partizans, who were in readiness, upon the least indication from him, to carry their evil designs into execution, immediately cried out, that they ought all to be put to death, at the same time running in crowds towards the gate of the Hotel de Ville, with the intent of forcing an entrance; but they were happily prevented by the officers of justice, who found means to shut the gate.

This disappointment, far from abating the fury of the rioters, only served to animate them still the more; and, whilst some of them were employed in firing in at the windows, others brought wood, in order to burn down the gate; insomuch that, the officers of justice, and the Marshal de l'Hôpital's guards having been compelled to retire, one part of the assembly concealed themselves in the Hotel de Ville, and the rest, in different disguises, attempted to make their escape through the croud: but, of those who embraced the latter expedient, many of them were discovered through their disguise, and were massacred by the populace; amongst others, Messrs. le Gras, a master of requests, Ferrand, de Savari, and le Fevre, counsellors of the parliament, and Miron, a master of accompts, all of them sworn foes to Cardinal Mazarin. In short, the animosity of the people had risen to such a pitch, that, when the curate of S. John's Church, in hopes thereby to pacify the commotion, brought the host into that quarter of the city called the Grève, they threatened to put him also to death, if he did not instantly retire.

This virulence, however, was not so general, but that many, even of those who appeared the most active in the riot, voluntarily assisted such of the deputies as were known to them, in making their escape. The Provost of the Merchants, and his son, M. de la Barre, were saved in this manner, by some boatmen, who rendered the like service to several other persons, for money. The Marshal de l'Hôpital, whose situation was more perilous than that of any other person, was obliged to disguise himself, in order to escape the resentment of the populace. But this he could not do so effectually, as to prevent his being recognized by M. Dauvilliers (the same person who defended the Coadjutor from an attack made upon him, in the riot at the Palais, by a man armed with a poniard) to whom, in all probability, he was indebted for his preservation. For this gentleman, with the assistance of the valet de chambre of one of his friends, whom he perceived amongst the rioters, with a drawn sword in his hand, having happily extricated the Marshal from his uneasy and dangerous situation in the Hotel de Ville, conducted him

him through the mob, first to the house of a citizen of his acquaintance, and from thence, during the night, to his own dwelling. But the execution of the latter part of their enterprize was attended with an unforeseen accident, which threatened, at first, to be of fatal consequence. For, as they passed through a part of the city called the Croix du Tiroir, the Marshal, in spite of his disguise, was recollected by a tavern-keeper, a partizan of the Prince of Condé's, who instantly began to alarm the neighbourhood: but M. Dauvilliers, to whom he chanced to be known, stepping up to him, persuaded him that he was under a mistake; and the Marshal and his attendants, quickening their pace, arrived safe at the Hotel de l'Hôpital. †

The Duke of Beaufort and the Marquis de la Boulaye remained, during the whole tumult, at a house in the Grève, from whence they beheld all that passed with the most visible indifference, without making the least attempt to relieve any of their friends, till ten o'clock at night, when the Duke of Orleans sent Mademoiselle to the assistance of some of his adherents. They accompanied that Princess to the Hotel de Ville, from whence they obliged the rioters to retire, just at the instant that several companies of the citizens, who had by this time recovered from their consternation, were advancing towards the spot, with the view of setting those of the deputies at liberty, who still remained shut up, and of putting the mutineers to the sword, in case of their opposition: in which design they would, apparently, have been supported by the greatest part of the inhabitants, whom these transactions had inspired with the utmost horror.

In a few days afterwards, the Duke of Orleans went to the parliament, in order to apologize for those violent proceedings, but the attempt was ineffectual. Most
of

† It was the opinion of many, who pretended to a knowledge in political affairs, that several of the court emissaries mixed with the mob, and encouraged them in their outrages purposely to disgust the citizens against the princes, who were deemed the authors of this tumult, from the circumstance of many of the rioters having been heard to use the words Burgundy and Conde (the titles of the Prince of Condé's two regiments) as watch-words.

of the members, as also the King's counsel, withdrew from their attendance on the duties of their functions, and remained closely shut up in their houses. The Marshal de l'Hôpital and the Provost of the Merchants, who had retired from the city, sent a message to the corporation, that they would not return thither whilst things continued in their present state. So that this manœuvre of the Prince of Condé's, far from benefiting his cause, did him the most essential injury, by rendering him odious to the public in general. A strong suspicion arose, however, some time afterwards, that Cardinal Mazarin had been a chief promoter of the tumult; that he had bribed a person, to suggest it to the Prince of Condé, as an expedient to intimidate the court, and to manifest his sway in the city; and that his eminency had, at the same time, sent secret orders to his friends to foment the disturbance to the utmost of their power, in order to throw the whole odium of the transaction on the Prince of Condé, and effectually to ruin him in the opinion of the citizens: in which he perfectly succeeded. It has since been discovered that these orders were given out by M. Ariste, a clerk in the department of the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state.

Moreover, Cardinal de Retz and his friends, though totally ignorant of these secret instructions, set every engine in motion to excite the public resentment against the Prince of Condé, whom they charged with carrying on a private treaty with the court, together with many other particulars, all which were comprized in a performance, entitled: 'The clandestine negotiations;' of which upwards of five thousand were sold in the course of a very few days.

The Prince of Condé might, with great justice, have retaliated these accusations on Cardinal de Retz and his friends, all of whom held an intercourse with the court. The Dutchess de Chevreuse corresponded with the Abbé Fouquet, the Abbé Charier with the Grand Provost and his brother, the Abbé de Sourches, Madame de Rhodes, who died during this period, frequently went in person to the court, in different disguises.

disguises, * as did also Berthet, and the Baron de Penneors, a relation of the Cardinal de Retz, both of whom sought to make themselves of consequence, and to be admitted, as parties, into these negotiations: but the Prince was not so well informed of Cardinal de Retz's transactions as the Cardinal was of his Highness's.

All the Prince of Condé's dependance therefore, lay in the execution of those enterprizes, which he still meditated against Cardinal de Retz; most of whose friends, particularly the Bishop of Châlons, the Duke de Brissac, the Count de Montresor, the Marquis de Laigues, the Abbé Charrier, and M. Argenteuil, being apprehensive for his safety, urgently advised him, as also the Marquis de l'Hôpital and the Provost of the Merchants, to quit the city, and to retire either to Mezieres or to Charleville, of which places two of the Cardinal's relations, the Marquis de Noirmoutier and the Viscount de Busfi-Lamet, were governors. But this counsel was strongly opposed by Messrs. Joli and Caumartin; through a firm persuasion that, the instant his eminency should retire from the city, he would inevitably forfeit all his authority and credit, both with the court and the people; and that nothing further was requisite than to furnish him with such a guard as might enable him to repel any attacks which his enemies should be inclined to make on him. With this view M. Caumartin readily offered the Cardinal the sum of ten thousand livres, for the purpose of retaining in his service a hundred or a hundred and twenty persons, of the King of England's retinue, whom that Monarch was well inclined to spare his eminency; exclusive of upwards of a hundred gentlemen, one part of whom constantly lay at the Cardinal's palace, and the rest in the cloister of Notre Dame.

Most

* After this lady's death, the habits of five or six different orders of Friars were found in her wardrobe. It has been asserted that her death was occasioned by vexation, arising from the coolness and neglect with which Cardinal Mazarin received some intelligence which she had personally communicated to him, under the disguise of a Cordelier.

Most of the citizens, also, in the neighbourhood of the Cardinal's residence, engaged to run to arms immediately upon the first alarm of any disturbance: and some, even of those who dwelt in the more distant quarters of the city, made the same promise; amongst others the *Sieur Houx*, captain of the butchers, at the end of the bridge of *Notre Dame*. The curates, also, received orders to cause the alarm bells to be rung, and to excite the people to the assistance of their archbishop, in case of any attack. The further precaution was taken to open some windows, in that part of the church of *Notre Dame* which was nearest to the Cardinal's palace, that his eminency might, should it be necessary, take refuge in the steeple of the church, into which a priest, named *Carré*, who had the care of the church bells, had, with great privacy, conveyed a number of musquets, bombs and granadoes, together with provisions for several days. This last measure was kept a profound secret; but the rest were publicly known. A guard of soldiers did duty regularly every day at the Cardinal's palace, under the command of the Viscount *Lamet* and the Marquis de *Châteaurenault*.

All these preventative measures had a good effect towards repressing the insolence of the seditious rabble, who now no longer appeared in the quarter where the Cardinal de *Retz* resided, which had, for some time past, been greatly infested by them. There is much reason to believe, also, that the Prince of *Condé* was induced thereby to lay aside his designs, through fear of the consequences with which the execution of them might be attended. Moreover, his Highness was apprehensive lest, in pursuing his projects against Cardinal de *Retz*, he should offend the Duke of *Orleans*, by whom his eminency was still highly favoured and esteemed.

In the mean time, the court sought every pretext to delay giving an answer to the parliament's deputies, in hopes that the citizens, irritated by the late violent proceedings of the Prince of *Condé*, would have declared themselves against him. But, when it was seen that his Highness's party had rendered themselves mas-

ters.

ters of the Hotel de Ville, in the absence of the Governor of the City and the Provost of the Merchants, in whose stead they had substituted the Duke of Beaufort and M. Broussel, it then became necessary to comply. An answer was accordingly sent to the parliament, in which his Majesty declared that he was willing to yield to their request for Cardinal Mazarin's dismissal, although he plainly saw that it was a mere subterfuge, on condition that the Princes should nominate deputies, to treat of an accommodation. But, as the Duke of Orleans insinuated that this was a captious answer, and an artifice of the Cardinal's, to engage the Princes in conferences which were totally needless, seeing that they had promised to lay down their arms immediately upon his eminency's departure from the kingdom,—for this reason the parliament resolved that the humble thanks of the assembly should be returned to his Majesty for his foregoing declaration; that the deputies should be instructed to press the execution of the promise contained therein, and that the Princes should be requested to write a letter to them, confirming their last declaration, and empowering them to receive such orders, as it should please his Majesty to communicate to their Highnesses, so soon as the Cardinal should have retired from the kingdom.

As neither party was satisfied with these resolutions of the parliament, the contest was continued, with equal violence, on both sides. The council having issued an edict, annulling the appointment of M. Broussel to the office of Provost of the Merchants, the Princes neglected no means to support that appointment, of which they had been the authors, and even to push matters still further; which they easily effected, as most of the members of the parliament who were in opposition to them had, for some time past, absented themselves from the meetings of that assembly, and remained shut up in their houses. The deputies, therefore, having returned to Paris, in contempt of the orders which they had received to follow the court to Pontoise, and having made their report, the parliament, after much time had been spent in debating, issued an edict, by which it was declared that, the King

being no longer at liberty to follow the dictates of his affection for his people, his Royal Highness should be requested to use all his authority, to extricate his Majesty from that restraint in which he was then held by Cardinal Mazarin ; that, for this purpose, his Royal Highness should be empowered to take upon himself the office of Lieutenant General of the crown, and that he should be acknowledged as such by all the King's subjects, so long as Cardinal Mazarin should continue in France ; that the Prince of Condé, also, should be desired to accept of the command of the King's armies, under the authority of his Royal Highness ; that all the King's officers, the captains of his guards, &c. &c. together with their successors, should be accountable to his Royal Highness for their conduct ; that an address should be presented to the King, to excuse the return of the deputies, and to request that his Majesty would be pleased to dismiss Cardinal Mazarin, and, lastly, that this edict should be sent to all the other parliaments of the kingdom, with earnest solicitations to follow the example thereby set them.

This edict was annulled by the court ; but the parliament, nevertheless, issued two others, the first of which enforced the execution of that edict, by which a price had been set on the Cardinal's head ; ordering, also, that his library and all his other effects should be sold ; that those persons who held any lands, &c. of his eminency should be compelled to pay the rents thereof to certain bankers, which monies should be appropriated to the discharge of the reward, which had been offered to any one who should put the Cardinal to death. The other edict imposed a fresh tax upon the citizens, for the payment of the troops, which was fixed, by the corporation, at the gross sum of eight hundred thousand livres, each house having a [porte cochere] gate for the admission of coaches being rated at seventy-five livres, and the rest in proportion. But this tax was paid only by a few of the Princes partizans, and it served but to encrease the disaffection of the citizens towards their cause, who refused to contribute to it, alledging that it had been abolished by a decree of the council.

In

In the mean time, his Royal Highness and the Prince of Condé accepted the posts which had been conferred upon them by the parliament: they dispatched circular letters to the governors of all the different provinces, and the Duke of Orleans established a regular council, at the Luxembourg palace, to which he summoned two of the members of the parliament, the President de Nesmond and M. de Longueil,* and even the Chancellor, also, who justly might, and ought to have excused himself from attending. The court, perceiving that the parliament was now too much intimidated to refuse its concurrence in any of the Prince's views, determined to remove the assembly to Pontoise, and, having collected about twenty or thirty masters of requests, presidents, and counsellors, formed them, accordingly, into a kind of parliament, in opposition to that of Paris. Although the members who composed this new assembly were but few in number, yet their proceedings were distinguished by a considerable degree of spirit and vigour: in concert with the court, they, also, drew up remonstrances for the Cardinal's dismissal, which was immediately granted, and, in the same instant, carried into execution. The King then went to Compeigne, leaving the Marshal de la Ferté, with a body of troops, at Pontoise, whilst the Viscount de Turenne marched to Villeneuve-saint George, in order to oppose the enterprizes of the Duke of Lorraine, who had lately re-entered France, and had advanced as far as Brie-Comte-Robert.

The Prince of Condé, therefore, quitted his situation in the plain of Ivry, and took post at Charenton, having passed his army over the Seine on a bridge of boats, in consequence of which movement, Marshal Turenne found himself hemmed in, for several days, between the army of the Duke of Lorrain and that of the Prince. However, the Marshal, watching his opportunity,

* Longueil, a member of the Grand chamber, and brother to the President de Maisons, was well affected to the state, but he loved money still better. Fifty thousand Mazarinian crowns induced him to quit the party of the Frondeurs and to go over to the other side.

opportunity, one night whilst the Princes were at Paris, and the Prince of Condé was indisposed, decamped secretly with his troops, his enemies not perceiving his design till it was too late to prevent it. This unforeseen retreat greatly disconcerted all their Highnesses schemes, more especially as they found their influence in the parliament much diminished, since the departure of Cardinal Mazarin; and they now began seriously to think of peace, and to declare publicly, in the parliament, that they were willing to lay down their arms, without requiring any other condition, than a general amnesty for themselves and their adherents. The parliament, accordingly issued an edict, by which it was ordered that an address of thanks should be presented to the King, on occasion of the Cardinal's dismissal, and that his Majesty should be requested to gratify the wishes of the assembly, by returning to the city, giving him, at the same time, the most earnest assurances of their loyalty and affection; that the thanks of the assembly should be returned to the Princes, also, who should be urged to persevere in their endeavours to re-establish the public tranquillity, and that, in the mean time, their Highnesses declaration should be registered in due form. This edict did not prove satisfactory to the court party, who argued that the Princes were bound, by their former declaration, to lay down their arms, immediately upon the Cardinal's dismissal, without exacting any other terms whatsoever: and therefore, when his Royal Highness wrote, a short time afterwards, to the Duke d'Anville, for passports for certain persons, whom he purposed to send to the court, the Duke acquainted him, in answer, that no passports could be granted, till the Princes should first, conformably to their promises, have laid down their arms. However, to comply in some sort with the demands of the Princes, the court sent an amnesty to the new-formed parliament of Pontoise, but it produced no good effect, both as it censured the conduct of the Princes in too severe terms, and, also, as the circumstance of its being sent to the parliament of Pontoise gave much offence to that of Paris.

Paris. This incident occasioned fresh debates in the parliament, where it was at length determined to return his Majesty the thanks of the assembly, and to request that he would be pleased to quit Pontoise and again take up his residence in the city, to grant passports to the Prince's deputies, and to issue a general amnesty, in all the proper forms, which should be sent to all the different parliaments of the kingdom : and it was further resolved, to solicit the other superior courts to send addresses to his Majesty on the same subject. This edict sufficiently evinced the willingness of the assembly to accommodate all differences, upon the very first concession from the court, without paying much attention to the private interests of the Princes ; and, as all the other superior courts had engaged to send deputations to the King, in conjunction with the parliament, to request his Majesty to return to the city, every one eagerly pressed the execution of that particular article of the edict, whilst the rest were suffered to pass totally unheeded. The ecclesiastics led the way : and, the dean of the church of Notre-Dame having proposed to the chapter to send deputies, without consulting Cardinal de Retz on the subject, Joli, who had received intelligence of the circumstance, represented to his eminency, that it would be much to his advantage to put himself at the head of the intended deputation, seeing that he could not have a more favourable opportunity for receiving, from the King's hands, the hat which the Pope had sent him by a courier : an honour which the Cardinal desired with the utmost ardour. Having, therefore, previously obtained the concurrence of the court, by means of the princess Palatine, he concerted the necessary measures with the chapter, and the other different bodies of the clergy, all of whom united their deputies with those of the chapter, and, every thing being properly arranged, he departed from the city at their head. The behaviour of the populace towards them was much more peaceable than could have been expected in such turbulent times, some few of the rabble only having insulted them with the usual cry of, ' There go the Mazarins !'

Neither

Neither did they meet with any sinister accident throughout their whole journey, although the Prince of Condé's troops were dispersed all over the country, the Duke of Orleans having granted Cardinal de Retz a detachment of his guards, to escort him as far as Compeigne. They were absent from the city eight days, out of which time the Cardinal spent three days at the court, where he met with a very gracious reception. His harangue on the occasion was universally approved, being critically adapted to the circumstances of the times. Several conferences were held, for the purpose of adjusting the measures for his Majesty's return, and for effecting a sincere reconciliation between the two Cardinals: but these negotiations could not be compleated, because Cardinal de Retz was obliged to return to Paris: however a reciprocal correspondence was agreed on between the parties.

In the mean time, the partizans of the Princes having caused to be printed a spurious harangue of Cardinal de Retz, to the King, in order to diminish his credit with the people, his eminency was necessitated to publish an authentic copy of that performance, which gave such general satisfaction that, at his return to Paris, every one eagerly pressed to get a sight of him, and the whole city rang with reiterated shouts of, 'God save the King! Peace for ever!'

This example of the clergy was quickly followed by all the superior courts, the corporation of Paris, the merchants company, and the colonels and captains of the city guards. These last were chiefly influenced by Cardinal de Retz, who had repeated conferences, during the night, with some or other of them, particularly with M. de Seve, a master of requests, and colonel of the suburb of S. Germain. The Abbé Fouquet, also, who had assumed the title and authority of an agent for Cardinal Mazarin, sought to obtain the credit of having brought about the King's return. With this view, by virtue of an order which he procured to be addressed to him by the court, he convened a great number of the well-affected citizens, at the Palais Royal, at the head of whom was M. le Prevost a mem-
ber

ber of the grand chamber. This man, in a set speech, represented to them the advantages which must accrue from a general accommodation, and from the King's return to Paris, which was so ardently desired by all the real friends of the community, and opposed by a very few seditious and factious people only: he concluded with exhorting them to seize upon the principal quarters of the city, to put, every man, a piece of paper in his hat, as a mark of distinction, in imitation of the King's troops, and, when they retired from the assembly, to manifest their loyalty by repeated shouts of, 'God save the King!' Assuring them that they would be seconded therein by all those of the inhabitants, in general, who continued firm in their attachment to their duty. But it so happened that the rest of the citizens, instead of uniting with these people, as had been predicted, fell upon them, on their return from the Palais Royal and obliged them to disperse: so that this ill-concerted measure not only greatly retarded the execution of the excellent plan, which had been digested by Cardinal de Retz, but had, also, nearly rendered the whole design eTete.

In the mean time, as the citizens were, in the main, well disposed to their monarch's return, the Cardinal, to fulfil his promise, sent Joli to the court, to regulate the necessary preliminaries with the princess Palatine. But, unfortunately for him, on his return, he was seized by some troopers belonging to the Prince of Condé's army, who conducted him to Charenton, where they closely confined him for two whole days, till they had received the four hundred crowns which he had engaged to give them for his ransom, and for which he had been obliged to send to Paris: immediately upon the payment of the money, they dismissed him, without even examining his pockets, in which they would have found the dispatches from the princess Palatine. Had the Prince of Condé been made acquainted with this transaction, at the time, Joli would, doubtless, have been exposed to imminent danger, as his Highness was sufficiently apprized of the confidence which Cardinal de Retz placed in him.

But

But what made his good fortune still more apparent was, that, just as he had quitted Charenton, immediately after being released, he met the Prince of Condé himself, almost face to face ; insomuch that, in order to avoid his Highness, he was obliged to turn his horse out of the high road, and to cross the fields, which action, it might naturally have been supposed, would have led the Prince to suspect him, and to order his attendants to seize him. However, he happily escaped all these dangers and returned safe to Paris. Cardinal de Retz had been very uneasy, on account of his long absence, and was greatly rejoiced to see him again, and to learn from him that their Majesties, in consequence of the intelligence he had sent them, instantly determined to remove to S. Germain, where the deputies were admitted to an audience. The court made some difficulty, at first, to admit those from the corporation, because it appeared that the Duke of Beaufort and M. Broussel had been present at their nomination; but all objections were removed, when it was known that those two persons had resigned their posts, and the deputies from that body met with an equally gracious reception with the rest. But the officers of the city-guard were more favourably received than any of the others, the court standing in most need of their assistance, to render the people propitious to the King's return. The Prince of Condé, perceiving that it was in vain any longer to oppose the measures then carrying on in the city, withdrew with his troops towards Flanders, after the example of the Duke of Lorraine, having first made many fruitless attempts to effect a reconciliation with the court, through the mediation of M. de Gourville, the Duke de Bouillon, the Abbé Fouquet, Madame de Chatillon, and, lastly, of the Duke de la Rochefoucault. It does not clearly appear to what cause the bad success of these negotiations was owing: whether it arose from an unwillingness in Cardinal Mazarin to enter into any connections with his Highness, or whether his demands were deemed excessive and exorbitant. The state of those demands was as follows. He required, that Cardinal Mazarin should

should quit the kingdom, and that the King should empower his Royal Highness and himself to conclude a general peace. 2. That a council should be formed, to consist of unsuspected persons, and that the superintendant should be dismissed. 3. That all the Prince's adherents should be re-established in their estates, posts, and governments. 4. That the Duke of Orleans should receive plenary satisfaction in all his demands, both for himself and his friends. 5. That the immunities and privileges claimed by the citizens of Bourdeaux should be granted to them. 6. That the Prince of Conti should be permitted to enter into treaty with the Duke of Angoulême for the government of Provence: that the Duke of Nemours should have that of Auvergne, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault that of Angoumois and Xaintonges, or the sum of 350,000 livres, to purchase any other he should think proper: that the Prince de Turenne should be indemnified for the demolition of his estate at Taillebourg: that the Counts du Dognon and de Marfin should be appointed Marshals of France, and M. Viole a secretary of state or a President à Mortier: that the Marquis de Montespan should be created a Duke: that the government of Anjou should be restored to the Duke of Rohan, who should, also, have that of Pont-de-Sez and Saumur; that the Marquis de la Force should have the government of Bergerac and Sainte-Foi, and that the sum of 150,000 livres should be given to M. de Silleri, to purchase a government, who should, also, be created a knight of the King's orders, at the very first promotion. On these conditions the Prince of Condé engaged to lay down his arms, and to consent to Cardinal Mazarin's return, in three months, or as soon as a general peace should be concluded. These extravagant demands rendered all the negotiations ineffectual, although the death of the Duke of Nemours, who was killed in a duel, by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Beaufort, had removed one of the obstacles to their completion: a secret enmity had long subsisted between these two noblemen, and which had lately broken out a fresh, on occasion of the Duke of Beaufort's being appointed

appointed to the government of Paris. However, as this accident had not removed all the difficulties in the way of an accommodation, nothing could be concluded on. Madame de Chaillon was the only person who derived any advantage from these negotiations; the Prince of Condé having presented her, on the occasion, with an estate situated at Merlou, although it is possible that he was also influenced thereto by some more private motives. All conferences being now at an end, the Prince threw himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards, with a full determination of continuing the war; to which he was strongly incited by the Dutchess de Longueville, who was become jealous of the influence which Madame de Chatillon had acquired over him, and constantly dreaded the being obliged to return to her husband. Moreover, he placed great dependance on the hatred of the public to Cardinal Mazarin, from whence he expected to reap the most essential advantages: but, for want of a leader in whom the people could trust, this hatred was suffered to subside by degrees, and all thoughts of opposition were now laid aside, every one being fearful of exposing himself to certain ruin, by a further resistance.

The court did not neglect to avail itself of this panic. The King, therefore, returned to Paris, without any previous amnesty, and without granting any terms to the Duke of Orleans. On the contrary, his Majesty having dispatched an express to him, from the wood of Boulogne, commanding him to repair thither immediately, or to depart the city, he was apprehensive that it was intended to seize his person, and he, accordingly, retired, next morning to Blois.

His Majesty, still continuing to act with the same high hand, sent a Letter de Cachet to the parliament, by which they were ordered to attend him at the Louvre. This order somewhat surprized the assembly: but, as it was now no longer a time to hesitate, they instantly acquiesced, and repaired to the Louvre, where the King held a bed of justice. An amnesty was read to them, which appeared to be general: But it was succeeded by a declaration, in which the following

lowing
of Bea
Brouss
Coulon
Marqui
the gra
prohibi
in futu
ment o

This
ing eve
the K
were o
ferent
the rel

So f
Maza
matter
The t
transa
part o
and w
happy

he ca
sovere
avail
the n
break
this
Princ
stand
all t

whic
and
ated
is to
to b

T
Pari
than
but

lowing persons were excepted by name : viz the Dukes of Beaufort and de la Rochefoucault, Messrs. de Broussel, Viole, de Thou, Portail, Betaul, de Croissy, Coulon, Machault, Fleury, Martineau, Genoux, the Marquisses de la Boulaye and Fontrailles, and Denis, the grand treasurer of France: this declaration also prohibited the parliament from taking any cognizance, in future, of the government of the state or the management of the finances.

This imperiousness surprized every one, not excepting even those who had been the most sanguine for the King's return. However, the disgraced parties were obliged to fly, and to conceal themselves in different places, where some of them died in exile, amongst the rest M. Broussel.

So sudden and unexpected a revolution gave Cardinal Mazarin a high reputation in foreign countries, where matters are commonly judged of by the event alone. The truth is, that he had not so great a share in these transactions as might have been imagined, the greatest part of these changes having been made by chance, and without his consent. But, even supposing all these happy successes to have been effected by him, yet still he can claim no merit from them ; as he to whom the sovereign delegates his authority, may at all times avail himself of it, even to the abusing it, by making the most flattering promises, which he may afterwards break through with impunity. But it is certain that this does not justify either the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, or the Coadjutor. A better understanding amongst them might have averted this, and all the other evils which beset them afterwards, and which could be ascribed to their own imprudence only, and to that desire, by which they were mutually actuated, of revenging themselves on their enemies, that is to say, on those by whom they imagined themselves to be injured.

The incidents consequent of the King's return to Paris ought to have alarmed Cardinal de Retz more than any one else, because, seeing that he had contributed so much to that event, it seemed that the promises

mises which had been made him, that nothing should be done without his concurrence, ought not so soon to have been forgot. He, nevertheless, scarcely gave himself a moment's consideration on this conduct of the court, nor on the mystery of the message to the Duke of Orleans, with which circumstance he did not become acquainted till he came to the Louvre, whither he had repaired pretty early, to attend their Majesties, and which had been communicated to Joli, by mere accident, by the Provost of the Isle of France, who imagined that it was publicly known.

Another incident happened, at the same time, which ought to have surprized him still more: this was a message from the princess Palatine, which he received in a few minutes after his arrival, cautioning him not to come to her at the apartment which had been prepared for her at the Louvre, but to send Joli, to whom she would communicate all she had to say. This was accordingly done, and the first questions which the Princess asked Joli were, whether Cardinal de Retz had lost his senses, and what could have induced him to bring the King back to Paris in such haste, adding, that she feared that it would turn out but little, either to his interest or satisfaction. But these prefaces made but a very slight impression on the Cardinal, who was so intoxicated with the flattering marks of favour which the Queen affected to shew him, that he gave scarcely any ear to the repeated advices and intimations which he received. Her Majesty told him, amongst other things, that the King's return had been brought about solely by him, and that he had, thereby, rendered her a service, which she would cause him to remember as long as he lived.

Although he received great satisfaction from the Queen's behaviour towards him, yet he, nevertheless, immediately after quitting the Louvre, took a step which favoured much of the ancient spirit of the Fronde. He repaired to the Duke of Orleans's palace, to advise him to continue at Paris, in contempt of the order which had been sent him, to depart the city. But the truth is, that the conduct of the Cardinal on this oc-

casion

caſion a
that the
vice, h
the nex
who di
discove
matter
he cou
an invi
pleaſed
Duke
and co
ner as
he ſtil
with t
he to
given
He ſo
woul
again
woul
howe
gener
nobil
intrig
into
auth
med
In
dina
his g
have
from

*
preſt
clar
wou
faſe
him
dal
Cou

caſion aroſe merely from an attention to punctilio, and that the Duke of Orleans paid little heed to his advice, his Royal Highneſs having quitted the city on the next morning, much diſſatisfied with his eminency, who did not offer to accompany him. He had even diſcovered that the Cardinal had negotiated ſeveral matters with the court, without his privacy, although he conſtantly gave him the moſt poſitive aſſurances of an inviolable attachment. Neither was the Queen well pleaſed with the advice which he had given to the Duke of Orleans; but ſhe concealed her diſpleaſure, and continued to receive him in the ſame gracious manner as before, whenever he went to the Louvre, which he ſtill perſiſted in doing for ſome time, ſo prepoſſeſſed with the idea of the importance of his ſervices, that he totally neglected the daily warnings which were given him, of the danger with which he was menaced. He fondly imagined that a reſpect for the Cardinalſhip would reſtrain the court from attempting any thing againſt him, and that in caſe of need, the people would certainly fly to his aſſiſtance, in which opinion, however, he found himſelf greatly deceived. The generality of the people, and particularly thoſe of the nobility who had been chiefly concerned in the late intrigues, had converted their former affection for him into hatred, as they plainly ſaw that he was the ſole author of the late revolution, which was now irremediable.

In the mean time, the princeſs Palatine ſent Cardinal de Retz reiterated cautions, to keep himſelf upon his guard.* And, as he was at length determined to have an interview with her Highneſs, in order to learn, from her own mouth, what thoſe dangers were with
which

* Cardinal Mazarin, in his letters to the Queen, inceſſantly preſſed her Maſteſty to ſeize the perſon of Cardinal de Retz, declaring that, till this meaſure was carried into execution, he would never return to Paris, where he ſhould not deem himſelf ſafe while a man remained in the city who was able to oppoſe him. Beſides he determined to delay his return till after Cardinal de Retz ſhould be ſeized, in order to make it appear to the Court of Rome as if he had had no ſhare in that tranſaction.

which he was threatened, which he judged might now be effected with the less difficulty, as she had lately removed from the Louvre to her own house, the Hotel de Luynes, he therefore ordered Joli, who was his agent in ordinary, to request the Princess to appoint some hour of the night for a conference between them. But her Highness would by no means consent to let the Cardinal come to her house, as it would have been to have exposed him to too great a risk, and all that could be obtained from her was, that she would meet his eminency, at Joli's house, at nine o'clock the next evening. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the Prelate repaired to the place of rendezvous, and the Princess entered into a minute recapitulation of the cautions which she had sent him at different times, and, the Cardinal asking her, at length, what was to be apprehended from the designs in agitation against him, she bluntly replied, rising from her seat at the same time, 'every thing, even death itself.'

This declaration confounded him so much that, rising from one extreme to the other, he suddenly resolved to go no more to the Louvre, and affected to call himself to be accompanied, whenever he appeared in public, by a guard of eight or ten armed persons: a bravado which rather exposed him to danger than secured his safety. Had he been capable of following good advice, the properest step he could have taken would have been to have retired to some place of security, where he might have rendered himself still formidable to Cardinal Mazarin. But he piqued himself on observing a quite contrary conduct, haughtily declaring his determination not to quit the city. Ridiculous vanity! which, it is possible, may have been the sole cause of his ruin; as he, thereby, gave the court to understand that it was at all times in his power to renew the late disturbances. The truth, however, is, that his sole view was to obtain a reconciliation with Cardinal Mazarin, and that he imagined that the most likely means to effect this purpose would be to intimidate him, by an assumed haughtiness, which was certainly now become unseasonable, and for which there were

real grounds. This, Cardinal Mazarin well knew, although he feigned to be ignorant of it, always negotiating with Cardinal de Retz upon such terms, as if he had been in a condition to thwart his designs, and professing much willingness to satisfy him in his demands. But he always found the means of raising difficulties, to excuse himself from concluding upon any thing. Amongst other pretexts which he made use of, to justify these repeated delays, he complained that Cardinal de Retz employed too many agents in his negotiations, and that this diversity of persons, and, frequently, even of proposals, also, rendered it impossible for him to come to a determination; and in this it must be acknowledged that Cardinal Mazarin was in the right. For so great was the readiness with which Cardinal de Retz listened to those who came to offer him their mediation, that no one was rejected by him, although his friends constantly represented to him the dangerous consequences of such a conduct. But he was surrounded by persons who found their accompt in this confusion, and who, more attentive to their own than to his interests, sought to obtain a share in his negotiations merely for the purpose of advantaging themselves at his expence.

The princess Palatine was the person in whom he most confided; and, although her advice was frequently opposed by some of those about him, she had the address to reduce the propositions, on both sides, to a more precise and certain standard. Cardinal Mazarin had engaged to procure for Cardinal de Retz the management of the King's affairs at the court of Rome, in case he would consent to take up his future residence in that city, and also to obtain for him such abbeyes, pensions, and other emoluments, as should enable him to support his public character at that court with dignity and splendor. But these offers did not satisfy him; and, as there were several persons of note in the number of his adherents, he demanded three valuable governments, for the Duke de Brissac, the Marquis de Fosseuse, and M. d'Argenteuil, an Abbey of twenty thousand livres a year for the Abbé Charier, the post
of

of one of the secretaries of state for M. Caumartin, and a sum of money, or the office of secretary to the Duke of Anjou, for M. Joli. At first, the princess Palatine engaged for Cardinal Mazarin's acceptance of these conditions: but, when she found that his eminency had, in part, discarded his fears, since the King's return to Paris, she soon altered her opinion, and plainly told Cardinal de Retz, that, as he had committed such an oversight, in bringing back the King, it was now no longer a time to stand upon terms, and that he must absolutely be contented with such as had been offered him, without concerning himself about the expectations of his friends whose demands would be properly attended to in due time and season.

Amongst all Cardinal de Retz's friends, Joli was the only person who seconded this advice. He repeatedly represented to his eminency the danger to which he would expose himself, by adopting a contrary conduct, and that, as there was no probability of his obtaining the favours which he wished to procure for a small number of his partizans, he had better relinquish the demand, were it for no other reason than to avoid disoblighing the rest of his adherents, who would otherwise have cause to complain of that preference. Cardinal de Retz was well inclined to follow this advice, and, if M. Caumartin had been at Paris, there is good reason to believe that he and Joli would have been able to have prevailed on him to adopt it. But, as M. Caumartin was then at Poitiers, Joli found himself incapable of opposing the Duke de Brissac, the Abbé Charier, and other interested persons, with whom the Cardinal was constantly surrounded. The Duke de Brissac possessed at first but a small share of the Cardinal's confidence: but he had of late so far ingratiated himself with his eminency, and by such agreeable means, by procuring him frequent parties of pleasure, that it was with difficulty that the Cardinal could now be prevailed on to adopt any measures which were not recommended by him. The Duke de Brissac had a connection with Miss de la Vergne, the daughter-in-law of the Chancellor de Chiverni, a relation of the Cardinal.

Cardinal. This young lady, who was very handsome, lived in the next house to that of the Miss de la Loupes, the eldest of whom was one of the finest women in France: and, as there was a door of communication between the two houses, Miss de la Loupe was continually at the house of her friend, Miss de la Vergne: whither also the Cardinal and the Duke de Brissac frequently repaired, in the evening, to visit these ladies. On these occasions, Cardinal de Retz always appeared in very rich and elegant cloaths: and this vanity he carried to so great a length, that he would wear in common, in the day as well as at night, the most magnificent habits, thereby exposing himself to the ridicule of the public. The Duke also often engaged the Cardinal in parties of walking and hunting, at which times that Prelate would communicate to him his most secret affairs, not concealing from him even his connection with the princess Palatine, of whom the Duke soon found means to render him suspicious, by insinuating to him that her fears were merely political, and were feigned with the view of inducing him to yield to Cardinal Mazarin's proposals, to whom she sought to make her court at his expence. To this the Duke added, that her Highness had no longer any interest at court, and that it would be much more to the advantage of Cardinal de Retz to treat with the Queen herself, who would not stand so much upon terms, or with Servien, who had lately been recalled, and was now possessed of her Majesty's entire confidence. The idea of the Cardinal's treating with Servien had been originally suggested by the Dutchess de Lesdiguières, a friend of the Duke de Brissac, who had long wished to obtain a share in the Cardinal's negotiations, and thought this a most favourable opportunity for effecting her design. Servien waited on the Duke, * under the pretext of returning him thanks for the civilities which he had received at his house at Beaupreau, during his exile; but, in fact, by his intervention, to

VOL. I. L persuade

* In the original it is said, that Servien waited on the Cardinal: but it is plain, from the context, that this must be an error.

persuade the Cardinal to return to the Louvre, insinuating that every thing might be speedily adjusted, at the expence only of a slight compliment to the Queen. The Dutcheſs de Lesdiguiers fell into this snare, and easily led the Duke de Brissac into the same error, seeing that Servien's proposals perfectly coincided with their views and interests. They were both ignorant that Servien and the Abbé Fouquet had lately accommodated their differences, with the sole view of attempting the ruin of Cardinal de Retz, and of preventing a reconciliation between him and Cardinal Mazarin; clearly perceiving that, if once that event should take place; they should, from that instant, lose all power and credit in the state. With this view, these two gentlemen had preposſeſſed the Queen with an idea, that she must never expect to accomplish the return of Cardinal Mazarin, till she should, first, have secured the person of Cardinal de Retz, whose conduct they set in the worst light, by observing to her Majesty that he no longer attended at the Louvre, and that he affected, daily, to go about the streets of Paris, openly boasting of his determined resolution not to quit the city upon any account. These insinuations did not fail of having their effect on the Queen, who, at bottom, heartily hated Cardinal de Retz, although she was not unacquainted with the services he had rendered her: and matters were, at length, pushed so far, that she consented to empower M. Pradelle, the captain of the guards, to secure him, either dead or alive, and to attack him in the streets, in case he should refuse to repair to the Louvre, to pay his respects to their Majesties. The Abbé Fouquet took upon himself the care of making the necessary dispositions, for the execution of this violent enterprize, whilst M. Servien should endeavour to prevail on the Cardinal to return to the Louvre, through the agency of the Dutcheſs de Lesdiguiers and the Duke de Brissac, who had been so assiduous in their attempts to render the princess Palatine suspected by him, that they, at length, succeeded, and he, in consequence, entered into a personal negotiation with Servien. In the mean time, Joli, who was
very

very
din
fata
tive
teui
de l
ever
wh
of
prin
Retz
Mo
five
N
neſſ
con
of
hou
with
and
ſtan
kno
tric
ing
cou
ſent
Bri
abſc
as t
his
duc
ly e
eng
envi
ten
T
gag
•
word
left t
to hi

very attentive to all that passed, represented to the Cardinal, at the instigation of the princess Palatine, the fatal effects of which such a conduct might be productive: but, as the Count de Montresor and M. Argenteuil countenanced the chimerical notions of the Duke de Brissac, (the first declaring publicly, that he should ever look upon those persons in the light of *Schelmcs*,* who should advise his eminency to neglect the interests of his friends) Joli's suggestions were disregarded, the princess Palatine became suspected, and Cardinal de Retz had not courage to resist the importunities of Montresor, and the rest of that cabal, being apprehensive of exposing them to destruction.

Nor was the Abbé Charier less sanguine in the business than the Duke de Brissac himself, having been confirmed in the same sentiments, by the arguments of the Marshal de Villeroi, the grand provost of the household, and his brother, the Abbé de Sourches, with whom he had always held a private intercourse, and whose influence over him was such, that he constantly concurred in their opinions, almost without knowing what he did himself: an eager desire of extricating himself, in a manner to his advantage, causing him, too readily, to listen to every thing which could tend to flatter his wishes. Thus, a similarity of sentiments chancing to subsist between the Duke de Brissac and him, they governed the Cardinal with an absolute authority, and a power still the more despotic, as they had both rendered themselves the confidants of his most secret complaints and disgusts: a plan of conduct which the Abbé had adopted from the first, scarcely ever suffering the Cardinal to be out of his sight, and engaging him in almost daily parties of pleasure, in the environs of Paris, at which times he was commonly attended by two servants only.

The Abbé Fouquet, who had, as before related, engaged to cause the Cardinal to be seized, either dead

L 2

or

* Thus it stands, printed in Italics, in the original. As this word is not of French extraction, the reader must, therefore, be left to interpret it in such a manner as shall be most conformable to his own idea.

or alive, being informed of these excursions, began to concert measures for the execution of his design, which might, doubtless, have been easily effected, by attacking him on one of these occasions. M. Fouquet had even determined to procure him to be privately and treacherously assassinated; but he was afterwards diverted from this design by two considerations. The first was, that the Queen still retained a degree of repugnancy and shame for so uncommon an action. Her Majesty questioning the Abbé, in what manner he proposed to conduct himself, in order to conceal all knowledge of the transaction from the public, he replied that she might safely trust the event to him, and that he would cause his eminency to be dispatched in such a place and manner as should preclude all possibility of the deed's transpiring; after which the body should be salted. These words denote, as it is seen, a wickedness of so deep a dye, that they, doubtless, will scarcely be credited; but nothing, nevertheless, is more true. The other reason, which prevented the Queen from pressing the execution of the above enterprize, was that Servien had given her Majesty some hopes, that the Cardinal would suffer himself to be persuaded to return to the Louvre, where it would be much easier to secure his person, without proceeding to such disagreeable extremities. Moreover, Cardinal Mazarin, to whom the design had been communicated, did not approve of it; being apprehensive, no doubt, that it would involve him in fresh difficulties, and render his return impracticable in future, by causing the relations and friends of Cardinal de Retz to unite with the partizans of the Prince of Condé, in order to frustrate all his schemes.

The court of Rome, also, gave some uneasiness to Cardinal Mazarin, who was very sensible that the Pope was not his friend, and that the Sacred College would not approve of an enterprize of this kind, executed upon one of their brethren. These considerations preserved Cardinal de Retz, for a time, from the evil designs of the Abbé Fouquet, who, nevertheless, still continued to watch his steps with the utmost assiduity, employing persons to follow his coach, for the whole day

day together, and endeavouring to bribe his domestics, in order to come at the knowledge of his usual hours of going from home, and of the different places to which he was accustomed to resort of an evening. But it fortunately happened that one of the persons to whom he applied was the son of a citizen of Paris, who, having formerly received some favours from Cardinal de Retz, made a discovery of his (the Abbé's) secret practices, adding that one of the persons employed in this business, whose name was du Fai, and who resided near the church of St. Paul, had tampered with one Pean, the steward of his eminency's household. Upon receiving this intelligence, Joli went to Pean's house, to interrogate him on the subject: he answered, without any hesitation, that he had frequently met this Fai, at the house of his brother, a goldsmith, and that Fai had, at times, asked him several questions concerning the Cardinal, to which he had paid little attention; but that he had never either given or offered him any bribe with the view of seducing him. Joli, thereupon, assured him that no suspicion was entertained of his fidelity, and gave him orders to feign to listen to this man, in order, by this means, to discover, if possible, the particulars of the plot. This plan was, accordingly, entered upon; but Cardinal de Retz greatly neglected the prosecution of it, contenting himself with sending information to the Duke de Brissac, the Count de Montresor, and the Abbé Charier of the intelligence which he had received, together with a letter from prince Thomas, to Father de Gondy, warning him of the danger with which his son was menaced. But those gentlemen were pleased to treat all these cautions with ridicule, and as springing from a causeless apprehension of danger, and to impute them to the artifices of the princess Palatine, who, they said, had taken this method to prevent the Cardinal from going to the Louvre, lest he should accommodate matters with the Queen without her intervention, and in order to prolong the negotiations, from which she derived much credit and reputation. In his heart, Cardinal de Retz was not of the same opinion, but he dared not contradict those persons,

persons. This Joli had remarked, and therefore advised his eminency to retire either to Mezieres or to Charleville, the governments of the Duke de Noirmoutier and the Viscount de Buffy-Lamet, where he would be at full liberty to treat, directly, with Cardinal Mazarin himself, without the interposition of the princess Palatine, or any other person. He represented to him, that this would be the most likely method of bringing matters to a speedy issue, and of obtaining the terms which he insisted on; seeing that Cardinal Mazarin would immediately take the alarm, when he should find that he (Cardinal de Retz) had retired to a place, which he might, at any time, give up to the Prince of Condé, whenever he should think proper to be reconciled to him. This proposition proved highly agreeable to Cardinal de Retz, and he would, doubtless, have acceded to it, had he been his own master at the time. But his new confidants would not consent to it at any rate. They were fully determined that his accommodation with the court should be effected by them alone, hoping, from thence, to derive great advantages to themselves. For this reason, they instructed Servien to represent matters as being in such a state of forwardness, that it should appear as if every thing might be adjusted in one quarter of an hour's conversation, only, with the Queen.

Joli's proposal having been thus eluded, by their artifices, Cardinal de Retz, at length, resolved upon going to the Louvre. Nevertheless, he once more gave ear to a fresh expedient proposed by Joli, for setting aside, or, at least, for deferring that visit for a time. This was to write to his friend, the Bishop of Châlons, to request that he would acquaint Cardinal Mazarin with his willingness to meet him, at any place which he should think proper to appoint, in order to treat with him personally, and to settle affairs between themselves.

This measure was accordingly adopted by general consent, and the Bishop of Châlons, on the receipt of the letter, dispatched a messenger instantly to Cardinal Mazarin. But the Duke de Brissac and his associates were
become

become so impatient, that they would not wait for an answer ; and as Servien pressed them very closely, they, by mere dint of importunity, wrung from Cardinal de Retz a promise, that he would go to the Louvre on the following Thursday, the 18th of December 1652. In the uncertainty of what might happen, the Cardinal took the precaution to burn all his papers with his own hands, and delivered his strong box, in which nothing now remained but his cyphers, into Joli's care. He left nothing in his pockets but a letter from the King of England and half a sermon, which he was to have preached, at the church of Notre Dame, on the last Sunday in Advent, as he had already done on the first. There arose, however, another trifling incident which had nearly, once more, put a stop to this design. This was the arrival of M. Caumartin, who at length returned, at the reiterated instances of Joli, on the very eve of that fatal visit. Immediately on his arrival, he repaired to Joli's house ; and, after a short conversation had passed between them, on the present state of affairs, they went together to the Cardinal's palace. At their entrance, Caumartin told the Cardinal that, from what he had heard, he looked upon his situation as desperate, but to that opinion his eminency would not subscribe : and, after giving a detail of the motives, by which he had been induced to adopt the foregoing resolution, he inferred, from the whole, that, although the court might be induced to attempt the taking him off by assassination, of which, however, he did not think them capable, yet that they would never venture to seize his person, seeing that there was no precedent for such an action, and that it would be of dangerous consequences in the then critical situation of affairs. Throughout the whole of this conversation, he studiously avoided mentioning to Caumartin the strict union which he had formed with the Duke de Brissac and his new confidants, who all entertained a great jealousy of that gentleman. All Caumartin's attempts to dissuade the Cardinal from his design proved ineffectual, and, in fact, he did not oppose it with that vigour

vigour and firmness which Joli had expected from him: whether it was that he had not sufficiently considered the matter, or whether, finding that his eminency was fixed in his resolution, he was fearful of offending him by opposing his will. The Cardinal, therefore, persisted in his intention, although the princess Palatine, about three hours only before he left his palace, sent the Baron de Pennacors to him once more, to conjure him to remain at home for some days, till the arrival of an answer from Cardinal Mazarin, which would directly remove all obstacles. It was in vain that Joli supported this advice with every argument he could devise: all was to no purpose, and only served to irritate the Abbé Charier, whose eagerness had occasioned his repairing to the Cardinal's palace so early as seven o'clock that morning, and who incessantly importuned him to get into his coach. This his emnency, at length, did, at about nine o'clock, together with some other persons, who accompanied him to the Louvre. On their arrival there, they went at first into the apartment of the Marshal de Villeroi, from whence they sent to know what the King was doing: and, word being brought that his Majesty was about to quit his chamber, in order to pay a visit to the Queen, the Cardinal immediately departed, and, at the bottom of the stairs, met the King, who said to him, 'Ah! are you there, Mr. Cardinal! good morning to you.' His Majesty then went into the apartment of the Queen, who, upon seeing the Cardinal enter, addressed him, rather sharply, in these terms: 'Mr. Cardinal, I was told that you had been ill; your countenance, indeed, shews it. But it is plain, however, that your disorder was not dangerous.' Here the conversation ended, as her Majesty did not say another word to him during the whole time he remained in her presence. This kind of indifference induced him to retire something sooner than he had, at first, intended. But he had scarcely got without the door, before M. de Villequier came up to him, and, taking him aside, towards one of the windows of the anti-chamber, told him

him that he had orders from the King to arrest him ; and, walking by his side, conducted him to his own apartment. Just as they reached the door, the Cardinal turned round to those who had followed him, and told them that they might retire : adding that he had been put under arrest. This transaction happened at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at about three o'clock in the afternoon he was conducted to the Castle of Vincennes. The news of this event having been communicated to the Queen, her Majesty said that she thanked God that the design had been effected without bloodshed : from whence it is apparent that the orders expedited on this occasion were such as have been already mentioned. Her Majesty asked M. le Tellier whether Joli had been taken into custody ; to which he answered that he had not, because he did not come with the Cardinal to the Louvre. The Queen replied that it would be proper to send to his house, in order to secure his person : but M. le Tellier represented to her that such an attempt might be attended with dangerous consequences, as he lived in the cloister, adjoining to the Archbishop's palace, in which quarter of the city some tumult might thereby be excited.*

Joli had, therefore, time to retire to a place of safety, after having ventured to go to the house of M. Caumartin. They both went, by different routs, to the Count de Montresor's, who advised them to seek some other asylum, telling them that his house would be more closely watched than any other. After this, Joli returned to the cloister, where he remained two or three hours, being employed in endeavouring to excite the chapter to take some vigorous step in favour of the Cardinal. In this respect, he acted with great imprudence, as, had he been taken into custody, and

L 5

had

* Cardinal de Retz ruined himself, by a like rashness with that, which proved the destruction of the Duke of Guise, at Blois. They had both conceived a notion, that their enemies dared not attempt any thing against their persons, without considering that the situation of a subject becomes most perilous, when he has once rendered himself formidable to his sovereign.

had a criminal process been instituted against him, as would inevitably have happened, Cardinal de Retz would have been ruined past redemption; Joli having been entrusted by him with many secrets of the most delicate and important nature. At length, yielding to the remonstrances of the Marquis de Chateurenaud, the Abbé de Hacqueville, and M. Daurat, one of the counsellors of the parliament, he was conducted, in the coach of the latter, to a private house, in a retired situation, where he spent the night in writing letters to the friends of Cardinal de Retz.

It was to Providence alone that Joli stood indebted for his preservation on this occasion, Cardinal de Retz having pressed him to the utmost to go with him to the Louvre, having proceeded so far as to reproach him with fear, in hopes thereby to pique his honour. This had well-nigh determined Joli to follow him to the Louvre: but, at length, after maturely reflecting on the danger to which the Cardinal himself would be exposed, he took his leave of him, telling him, at parting, that, as he was bent on his own ruin, he should involve no one else in his destruction, and that he (Joli) might, perhaps, one day have the satisfaction of assisting, to draw him out of that abyss, into which he was about to plunge himself: which, in effect, afterwards happened; as will be seen in the course of these Memoirs.

It is surprizing how few persons interested themselves in the Cardinal's imprisonment, and how many there were, even amongst the Frondeurs, who rejoiced in his misfortune. They tauntingly observed that, it was a just punishment on him for having deserted the Prince of Condé, and for having taken the pains he did, to accomplish the King's return to Paris: the chapter of the church of Notre-Dame, and the curates of the city were the only persons who expressed any resentment on the occasion. As soon as the news of the foregoing event came to the ears of the canons of the church of Paris, they instantly assembled, and determined to request the archbishop to accompany them to the Louvre, to demand the Cardinal's releasement. Several of the curates, who chanced to be at the arch-
bishop's

bishop's palace at the time, united in this request, and the Pope's Nuncio, who came upon the same business, exhorted them to do their duty, assuring them that they should be vigorously supported by the court of Rome, and that he would give them every assistance in his power. But the archbishop excused himself, under pretence of illness, and put off the affair till the next day, although he was strongly solicited to wait on the King immediately, both by Pere de Gondy, his brother and the Cardinal's father, and by the Dutches de Lefdiguieres, his niece, who now endeavoured, too late, to remedy the evil of which she had been the cause.

This supineness in the archbishop, in some measure, damped the zeal of the clergy: the chapter, however, did not relax in their vigour, but ordered public prayers to be put up for forty hours, for the Cardinal's deliverance, and also that the host should be exposed, which was done for the space of three successive days, in spite of the orders, which the King sent them by M. le Tellier, to desist from those public acts of devotion, at which great numbers of people constantly attended. The canons refused to obey, and some of them even delivered their sentiments on the subject with a spirit, which convinced the court that it would be dangerous to push the affair any further; so that, had the archbishop manifested a little more resolution, there is great reason to believe that the court would have been necessitated to grant the Cardinal his liberty. For the chapter and the curates had determined to shut up Notre-Dame and all the other churches, in case the archbishop would have countenanced them in that measure, which would have caused great confusion and disorder, more especially as the Prince of Condé's party was now become much more powerful than it had been for some time past.

But the archbishop was very averse to interfering in the business, as well through his natural imbecility, which was universally known, as from a ridiculous jealousy which he had entertained of his nephew, ever since his promotion to the Cardinalship. Thus, although he was, at length, obliged to wait on the King
with

with the remonstrances which had been given him in charge by the whole body of the clergy, he acquitted himself so badly of his commission, that, when the Queen upbraided him with the prayers of forty hours, he replied, that the orders for them had not been issued by him, but by the chapter. After this, her Majesty having drawn him aside, and having made use of some gentle expressions, assuring him, also, that no hurt should be done to his nephew, he became satisfied, and imagined he had done great things for him; leaving all the clergy much displeased with his conduct, by which they saw themselves restrained, in a manner, from undertaking any thing further. The chapter, however, appointed, from amongst themselves, a certain number of persons, to consult together on the means of procuring Cardinal de Retz his liberty, and ordered that, at the end of each day's service, a psalm should be sung and a prayer repeated, for his release-ment. But here they stopped; through the supineness, of the Archbishop, and most of the rest of the prisoner's relations and friends, who neglected him to such a degree, that they would not have been able even to have carried on a correspondence with him, but for the precaution which had been taken by Madame de Pommereuil, (the wife of the President of that name) who, from the first, had contrived two different plans, by means of which the Cardinal was enabled to send and receive letters pretty frequently.

This lady had long entertained a friendship for Cardinal de Retz, and it is certain that he felt a stronger affection and esteem for her, than for all the others to whom he had attached himself. Neither is it more than justice to say, that she merited that distinction, having served him, on every occasion, with the utmost disinterestedness, and never intermeddling in any of the negotiations, in order to reap advantage from them, as others did. She even carried her generosity to such a height in the present instance, as to pledge her jewels for the Cardinal's service, at the same time that his relations refused to be at the least expence, or to take any step whatever towards relieving him.

The

The Dutchess de Lefdiguieres, also, did an act, which, though well-meant, and promising to be of service to the Cardinal, had nearly proved his destruction: for, imagining that he might stand in need of a counter-poison, she gave the Marquis de Villequier, (the person by whom he was arrested) two small boxes, containing a preparation of that kind, to be delivered by him to his eminency. But, the Marquis having, immediately, put them into the Queen's hands, her Majesty communicated the matter to the council, where Servien advised that the counter-poison should be taken out, and that the boxes should be filled with real poison, to be afterwards sent to the prisoner. Base counsel! but M. le Tellier was of a different opinion, and thought it would be sufficient to throw away the boxes, and thus to let the affair drop. The Queen adopted the latter advice: greatly irritated against the Dutchess, for having suspected her of being a poisoner. But her resentment abated at length; the Dutchess having engaged to prevail on the Cardinal to comply with whatever the court should be inclined to require of him.

M. Caumartin, also, approved himself a firm friend to the Cardinal: and, as the court had permitted him to remain at liberty, whilst Joli was obliged to conceal himself, they used to meet frequently, during the night, to concert together the measures necessary to be taken for his eminency's service. But as they could do nothing without assistance, and as it was requisite that they should raise as strong a party as possible, they resolved to carry it fair with the Duke de Brissac and the Dutchess de Lefdiguieres, the Count de Montresor, the Abbé Charier, and M. Argenteuil, leaving all explanations to a more fitting season. Thus, having persuaded the Dutchess de Lefdiguieres, who had given an asylum to the Duke de Brissac, to permit the Cardinal's friends to hold their meetings at her house, they (Caumartin and Joli) repaired thither two or three times, with M. Argenteuil, who acted also for the Count de Montresor: this latter being obliged to conceal himself, on account of some troublesome affairs, in which he had lately been involved.

These

These conferences might have been productive of some good effect, had the resolutions taken therein been carried into execution: which were that the Abbé Charier should depart, without delay, for Rome, to solicit the support of the Pope, in behalf of Cardinal de Retz, (to which he consented, with great difficulty, after having received the most satisfactory assurances of being properly supplied with money, for his expences during his stay;) that Joli should go to Brittany, to the Duke de Retz, for the purpose of exhorting him to unite himself with the Prince of Conti and the Count du Doignon, who still kept possession of Bourdeaux and Brouage, for the Prince of Condé. It was, also, determined to request the Abbé de Lamet to go to Mezieres and to Charleville, in order to engage the Viscount de Buffi-Lamet and the Marquis de Noirmoutier, the governors of those two places, to declare themselves in favour of Cardinal de Retz, by entering into a negotiation with the Prince of Condé, and even with the Spaniards also, should it be found necessary. Had all these projects proved successful, Cardinal Mazarin would have been more embarrassed than ever. But it so happened that matters turned out, on all sides, in a quite contrary manner to what had been expected. The Duke de Noirmoutier was the only person, who seemed, in any wise, inclined to declare himself; and there is great reason to think that he would have done so, if he had been properly solicited, and if Joli could have gone upon that business: the Duke having often promised him to take arms in favour of the Cardinal, in case the court should ever offer him any violence; although he had not much cause to be satisfied with his eminency's conduct towards him. This is the more probable, as, within two hours after the Cardinal had been put under arrest, the Dutches de Noirmoutier sent to Joli, desiring that he would take shelter at her house, and promising to take proper measures for his being conducted with safety to Charleville, where the Duke de Noirmoutier then was, by whose express orders she made him the above offers. Joli strongly represented all these circumstances to the Duke de Brissac and the Dutches de

de Lefdiguieres; but the Duke would not, by any means, be induced to consent to the journey, alledging that it was of much greater consequence to apply to the Duke de Retz, who ought to set the example, and who was better able to form a powerful party than any one else; he being in possession of Belle-Isle, and from his situation, having it, at all times, in his power to join the Prince of Conti, and the Count du Dognon, after which the Duke de Noirmoutier would, doubtless, comply with every thing which should be required of him. These arguments were plausible, and Caumartin yielded to them: but the truth is, that the Duke de Brissac was influenced by private motives on this occasion, being apprehensive that, should the Duke de Noirmoutier put himself at the head of the party, he should inevitably be deprived of all that consequence, which it was his aim to acquire. Thus Joli was obliged to direct his course to the Duke de Retz's residence, the Duke de Brissac having promised to follow him with speed. He, nevertheless, neglected to perform his promise; having suffered six weeks to elapse, under various pretexts, but, in fact, that he might have a little longer time to comfort the Dutchess de Lefdiguieres, and, very probably, Mademoiselle de la Vergne also. At length, however, he departed for Machecoul, where he met with the two Dukes (father and son) and the Dutchess de Retz. He began, in his customary manner, to talk, like a person who wished to do something, and who had the best intentions whatever: but Joli plainly perceived that no dependance was to be placed on him, having discovered that, when he was alone with the Duke and Dutchess de Retz, he held a quite contrary language. The difference between these gentlemen was, that the old Duke frankly declared it as his opinion that nothing could be done, and that it was necessary to remain quiet: whereas the Dukes de Brissac and de Retz, as also the Dutchess, affected, on every occasion, to express a readiness to unite themselves, and to proceed to action in earnest. But all these fine declarations terminated in a hunting match, at which were present
near

near a hundred gentlemen of the province of Poitou, who were all great drinkers, and who, with their glasses in their hands, talked of raising regiments, of which they mentioned not a word on the next day, when they returned home.

The Dukes de Retz and de Brissac thought they did great matters, in writing a letter to the King, on the subject of the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz, imagining that this epistle would be productive of very material consequences. Yet so great was their fear of exposing themselves, thereby, to the resentment of the court, that they spent three or four days, in examining every syllable, period, and comma, before they would suffer it to go out of their hands. Joli was forced to rack his invention, to find terms and expressions sufficiently weak for their purpose. Thus ended the journey to Machecoul; save that the Duke de Brissac and the Dutchesse de Retz, before they parted, concerted the necessary measures for carrying on a correspondence together, neither of them having any other design, than to appear to be willing to do that, which, in their hearts, they never meant to do. After this, the Duke de Brissac returned home, and all the great expectations which he had raised at once vanished. He excused his supineness by that of others, and cast the whole blame of every thing on the Dukes de Retz, particularly on his father-in-law, whose sentiments, he pretended, he dared not oppose: a mode of conduct which he continued to pursue during the whole term of the Cardinal's imprisonment, and even in those critical conjunctures, in which the Duke de Retz affected to consult him, merely to obtain his revenge, and to lay the blame on him in return. The first opportunity, which offered for this purpose, was furnished by the arrival of a gentleman, named Mazerolle, whom the Prince of Conti had sent, to make tenders to the Duke de Retz of troops, money, and whatever else it should lay in his power to furnish him with, in case he would declare himself. The second arose from a message, to the same purport, having been sent by the Prince of Condé, by a gentleman whose name was Saint-Marc, who was introduced to the Duke de Retz

de Retz by the Marquis de Chateaurenaut, his relation, a very brave man, and who eagerly wished to strike some important stroke in favour of Cardinal de Retz. But the Duke de Retz couched his answer to the two envoys in such ambiguous terms, and, when the matter was communicated to the Duke de Brissac, he took so much time to consider of it, and, at last, gave his opinion in so reserved and indecisive a manner, that it was very apparent that neither of them had the least inclination to attempt any thing. And this the Marquis de Chateaurenaut observed to Joli, who had, before, but too plainly remarked it, advising him not to lose any more time there, but rather to try what might be done with the Duke de Noirmoutier. Joli had, for a long time past, been much disposed to take this step, and he entertained some thoughts of departing abruptly; but he was once more prevented, by a letter which he received from Caumartin, wherein he so earnestly pressed him to continue at Machecoul, that he could not avoid complying, although he was fully satisfied that it would be to no purpose: he still persisted, however, in his importunities, but those gentlemen constantly eluded his applications, under one pretence or another. One of these pretexts was the accommodation of the Prince of Conti and the city of Bourdeaux with the court; the news of which event they received with the most heart-felt satisfaction, never once concerning themselves about what the world might say of their shameful neglect to prevent its taking place, after the propositions which had been made to them by the two Princes. The Duke de Noirmoutier furnished them with another; the Abbé de Lamet having written word, that he did not appear to be inclined to do what was expected from him, which circumstance the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac eagerly caught hold on, declaring, upon every occasion, that the matter did not rest with them, and that they should have been ready to have gone any lengths, if the Duke de Noirmoutier would have declared himself; whilst he, on his part, with a little more foundation, asserted and maintained, that it was the

the Duke de Retz who ought to have taken the lead and to have set in motion all the other friends of his brother, the Cardinal.

It was thus that these gentlemen, throwing the blame of every thing on each other, eluded, by turns, the different propositions which were made to them; the whole time being spent in fruitless journies from Machecoul to Mezieres and to Charleville, and the Dutches de Retz secretly counterworking all Joli's measures, although, in other respects, she treated him with great civility, and, in conversation with him, affected to blame her husband and the Duke de Brissac for their supineness. She even did much worse; for she sent an account to one of Servien's creatures, named Vincent, of almost every thing that passed at Machecoul during that period: and this kind of conduct she carried to such a length, that, Malclerc having had an interview with the Duke de Retz, and having, as it seemed, obtained from him some more than usually explicit assurances, and which, it was imagined, might induce the Duke de Noirmoutier to declare himself, she, immediately upon his (Malclerc's) departure, dispatched one Dolot, whose wife, the sister of Vincent's wife, had long been her confidant, to inform Vincent of the whole transaction; ordering him, for the greater expedition, to travel post. In consequence of this Malclerc was in great danger of being seized at Paris; but he conducted himself with such precaution, and was so much upon his guard, that he happily escaped the snare that had been laid for him.

This Vincent, his wife, and Dolot were of the very dregs of the people, who first introduced themselves to the Dutches de Retz in the quality of musicians, and had, by degrees, wormed themselves into her confidence, by serving her in her intrigues with Servien, during his exile, a considerable part of which time she caused him to spend at Beaupreau, and at the other country seats of the Duke de Retz. It was this circumstance which furnished Servien with a pretext for sending Dolot to Machecoul, that he might obtain intelligence of every incident which might arise, during

Cardinal

Cardinal de Retz's confinement, and to take such measures, that the Dutchess, who possessed an absolute power over her father and her husband, might not suffer them to take any step in his eminency's favour. But this excess of precaution was needless against persons who thought of nothing less than of assisting their brother; more especially against the Dutchess, who was under terrible apprehensions, lest the tranquillity and the domestic pleasures, which she then enjoyed, should be disturbed.

Again, the Dutchess de Chevreuse and the Marquis de Laigues, whose power over the Duke de Noirmoutier was uncontrollable, acted nearly in the same manner with the other persons abovementioned, being profuse in their civilities and professions to Caumartin and the other friends of Cardinal de Retz, whilst they privately wrote to the Duke, to advise him not to declare himself; as, had he taken that step, De Laigues could not, in honour, have dispensed with repairing to him, at Charleville, and with quitting the Dutchess de Chevreuse, in consequence of which he would have forfeited his post of captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards, and have relinquished the opportunities of considerably augmenting his fortune. The Dutchess de Chevreuse, also, would have had cause to be apprehensive for herself, in case Laigues had taken that step, as she had, in some sort, made herself responsible to Cardinal Mazarin, who returned to Paris about six weeks after the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz, for the conduct of the Duke de Noirmoutier. Thus the obstacles to the prisoner's receiving any succour from his relations or friends were, in a manner, insurmountable.

In the mean time, the Duke de Noirmoutier, who was not, perhaps, at all better inclined to serve Cardinal de Retz, than the rest, continued to be very lavish of his professions, pretending that it was not his fault that he did not declare himself, which he certainly would have done, had the King's army, which Cardinal Mazarin had caused to march towards his government, continued to approach; the Duke having,
at

at the same time, procured the Spanish troops to advance to his assistance, with the intention of receiving them into his government, had Cardinal Mazarin pushed matters but a little further. The Duke had also given Cardinal Mazarin great umbrage, by his reconciliation with the Prince of Condé, and had, conjointly with the Viscount de Buffi-Lamet, sent several gentlemen to him, on the subject of the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz. He moreover, constantly observed to the Abbé de Lamet, that he could not declare himself, unless Cardinal de Retz should expressly require it of him, under his own hand; well knowing that most of his eminency's friends had given it as their opinion that, in case they should attempt any thing in his favour at that time, Cardinal Mazarin might be induced, thereby, to proceed to the last extremities, even, perhaps, to cause him to be poisoned. To this the Abbé de Lamet answered, that Cardinal de Retz found it difficult to convey letters to his friends, and that, even were it otherwise, it would be very unjust to expose him thus to the danger of ruining himself without resource, if a discovery should ensue. The Duke de Noirmoutier replied, that he knew that letters were received from the Cardinal daily, and that, should he be unwilling to write to him in such precise terms, he would be satisfied with his sending a letter to him, (the Abbé de Lamet) authorizing him to request, in his name, that he, (the Duke) would declare himself, which, in that case, he promised to do immediately. Thus matters seemed to wear a favourable aspect, and the Duke de Noirmoutier would have found it difficult to have excused himself from performing his promise, would Cardinal de Retz have spoken a little more unreservedly. But, not being able to persuade himself to this step, he furnished the Duke with a strong argument, whereby to exculpate himself to the world: besides that many of his eminency's friends were really doubtful, whether they ought to put any thing to the hazard, through fear of exposing him to the danger of being poisoned. All those, who were apprehensive of the consequences of declaring themselves, made use of

of this pretext, particularly the Dutcheſs de Leſdigui-
eres, who now prejudiced the Cardinal's intereſts as
much by her unreaſonable fears, as ſhe had before by
her extravagant hopes. It muſt be obſerved, to the
honour of Pere de Gondy, that, although retired from
the world, he was ever eager to embrace any ſpirited
propoſal which was made to him, notwithſtanding the
Dutcheſſes de Leſdiguieres and de Retz did every
thing in their power to reſtrain his ardour. But that
good man was ſo fully convinced of the injury which
the church ſuſtained by the imprifonment of his ſon,
that he could never be brought to approve of the argu-
ments which were uſed in ſupport of the oppoſite
opinion, continually declaring that he would willing-
ly ſtake all the fortunes of his family in ſo juſt and ſo
holy a cauſe.

The greateſt obſtacle was the irrefolution of Cardi-
nal de Retz, by which he was ſtrongly influenced on
all occaſions. To the various propoſitions which were
made to him he never returned any precise answer, be-
ing conſtantly apprehenſive of the violent meaſures of
the court, ever ſince he had come to the knowledge of
the inſtructions which had been given to Pradelle, at
the time he was commiſſioned to ſeize his perſon.
This apprehenſion was become ſo ſtrong that, in ſpite
of the great pains he took to conceal it, it manifeſted
itſelf in all his actions. One of the firſt faults, which
it led him into, was that of declining to make his eſ-
cape, when every neceſſary meaſure had been previ-
ouſly taken, by the Preſident de Pommereuil and M.
Caumartin, to exclude all poſſibility of the failure of
the deſign. Thoſe gentlemen had prevailed on one
Du-Croifat, an exempt of the guards, who command-
ed the party of ſoldiers who did duty in and about the
apartment in which the Cardinal was confined, in the
caſtle of Vincennes, to ſet his eminency at liberty:
and for this ſervice Du-Croifat was to receive the ſum
of 150,000 livres, which, in the mean time, was to
be depoſited in the hands of a truſty perſon, whom the
parties had fixed upon. This affair was carried to a
great length; but Cardinal de Retz put an end to
it,

it, by writing to his friends that no confidence was to be placed in Du-Croisat, of whom he made heavy complaints, and whom he charged with having concerted measures with the court, for causing him to perish in the execution of the design. But this suspicion was founded solely in the Cardinal's timidity, and it clearly appeared, in the sequel, that Du-Croisat had acted with honour in the affair. This negotiation was conducted by a woman, with whom Du-Croisat had been long connected, and who offered to put herself into the hands of the Cardinal's friends, as an hostage for Du-Croisat's fidelity in the execution of his engagements: but it happened, when it was least expected, that Du-Croisat was removed from Vincennes, in consequence of his acquainting Servien with the offers which had been made him. He took this step through an excess of precaution, in order to prove his fidelity in case the court should, by accident, receive the intelligence from any other quarter: but it was not productive of the effect which he had promised himself from it, the court judging it very improper to suffer a man in his indigent circumstances to be any longer exposed to a temptation of that nature. From hence it plainly appears that the court did not put sufficient confidence in him, to have concerted measures with him for the destruction of the Cardinal, by a scheme of so delicate a kind as that above-mentioned.

Be that as it may, it was not in this instance only that Cardinal de Retz gave proofs of his weakness and chagrin, which appeared but too clearly in all his letters to his friends, not to mention what he studiously concealed from them, such as the proposition made to him by Pradelle, in concert with the court, to resign his archbishopric, to which he, for a long time, listened very seriously, without mentioning a syllable of it to them.

Pradelle was a creature of Servien's, who procured him to be appointed to guard the Cardinal at Vincennes, purposely to make use of him to inspire the prisoner with such sentiments as he wished him to have, on the article of the resignation: to which the Dutchesse
de

de Le
ing, v
ting t
M. d
canon
morou
ceived
Cardi
that
which
plyin
But,
been
tuall
again
stead
him
mind
ence.

N
listen
he p
again
he h
plyin
and
adv
have
very
som
Mar
pub
bist
mar
priz
be c

T
cou
wh
sen

de Lefdiguières contributed all in her power, having, with that view, and under the pretext of alleviating the rigours of his confinement, obtained leave for M. de Bragelonne, his old domestic, and one of the canons of Notre Dame, a man of a very weak and timorous disposition, to accompany him. This man received orders to use all his endeavours to prevail on the Cardinal to resign the archbishopric, to persuade him that these were the sentiments of Pere de Gondy, which was not true, and to assure him that, by complying with this proposal, he would obtain his liberty. But, Caumartin and Madame de Pomereuil having been informed of this secret intrigue, they so effectually warned Cardinal de Retz to be on his guard against Bragelonne's suggestions, that his eminency, instead of giving ear to his advice, estranged himself from him so openly, that the poor canon went out of his mind on the occasion, and put a period to his existence, with a razor.

Nevertheless, Cardinal de Retz still continued to listen to the proposals of Pradelle, in whom, however, he placed no confidence, and was fully determined against negotiating, in any manner, with him. But he had, already resolved, in his own mind, on complying with the proposition, as he did soon afterwards, and only delayed his design in expectation of some more advantageous offers from the court, and that he might have time to obtain the consent of his friends, who were very averse to the measure, particularly Caumartin and some others. Matters being in this state, Cardinal Mazarin judged that this was a proper time to make a public proposal to Cardinal de Retz to resign his archbishopric, in order to justify himself to the Pope and many other persons, who were not, in the least, surprized that, after all that had passed, the King should be desirous of removing him from his see.

This was, certainly, the most plausible pretext which could have been made use of, to satisfy his Holiness, who had made reiterated applications, and had even sent a Nuncio, purposely to solicit the Cardinal's releasement.

leasement. * And, as it had not been thought proper to receive this Nuncio-extraordinary, it was become, in some respects, necessary to justify that refusal, lest the court of Rome should be induced to push the affair still further, and to take some resolutions very unfavourable to Cardinal Mazarin. For, according to the reports which were circulated at that time, the Pope had it in contemplation to cite him to appear at Rome, and to divest him of his dignity of Cardinal. In fact, had Cardinal de Retz's friends bestirred themselves, there is great reason to believe that the Pope would have afforded them support; his Holiness having repeatedly told the Abbé Charier, that, if two thousand men, only, could be raised, in his favour, he would immediately send a legate, who should put himself at their head, and should act in concert with his eminency's partizans.

It is true that the court had, now, scarcely any thing to fear from the friends or relations of Cardinal de Retz; but it was much to be dreaded lest they should unite themselves with the partizans of the Prince of Condé: neither did the court neglect to use every endeavour to prevent this evil, having employed a number of spies, on all sides, to observe the motions of both parties. Intelligence having been given, by one of these spies, that a person named Breteval, a lace merchant, in the street des Bourdonnois, carried on a correspondence with the Prince of Condé, orders were given to the Lieutenant-Civil to take him into custody, and to conduct him to the forest of Vincennes, after having narrowly searched his house. Had that officer been more exact in the execution of his commission, he would have made an important capture, in the person of M. de Marigni, the Prince of Condé's principal agent, who lodged in that house, and who chanced to be in bed at the time that Breteval was seized. But, hearing the disturbance, he rose, and, in his shirt only, made

* When the Nuncio had reached Lyons, he received an order from the court to proceed no further; and the Pope, through fear of his authority being opposed, suffered the affair to drop.

made his way to the top of the house, without being perceived by any one. From thence he crawled along the tiles to the house of M. Fardouel, one of the King's secretaries, and an advocate to the council, where he got in at the garret window: and, not thinking himself safe there, he went down stairs even into the cellar. The coldness of the place and of the season would not have permitted him to have continued long there, had not, very fortunately for him, a woman servant came down, in a short time afterwards, to draw some wine. This girl, being surprized, as one might naturally suppose, at seeing a man there, in such a situation, began to cry out in a manner which frightened Marigni still more than she herself was alarmed. Under the apprehension lest, by her thus crying out, he should be discovered, after conjuring her not to make the least noise, he told her that he was an unfortunate merchant of Rouen, a friend of Breteval's, pursued by his creditors, who were determined on his ruin, in case they should be able to discover the place of his concealment. He then begged of her to acquaint M. Dalancé, a surgeon, who lived at two doors distance only, that his friend, who lodged at M. Breteval's, had, during the disturbance in the morning, taken refuge at M. Fardouel's house, and that he was very desirous of speaking with him. Dalancé, who had been in great pain for him, received this message with joy, and, after giving the girl a strict caution to be secret and to be very careful of her guest, he bid her to tell him to wait with patience till night, when he would come himself to release him. The servant, finding Marigni shivering with cold, carried him the quilt of her bed, in which he wrapped himself up till night, when Dalancé brought him some cloaths, and conducted him to the house of one of his friends: all which was done without the knowledge of M. Fardouel, who did not become acquainted with the conduct of his servant in this affair till a considerable time afterwards.

In the mean time the Nuncio from the Pope, who resided at Paris, having expressed a desire to wait on

Cardinal de Retz, in order to learn the state of his health, and the treatment he received in his confinement, Cardinal Mazarin granted him that permission, and sent M. de Lionne, Servien's nephew, to accompany him, to observe what should pass at the visit, and whether Cardinal de Retz should speak of his resignation in the same terms as he had used in his conversations, on that subject, with Pradelle. But he now held a quite different language, having recited with a firm tone and manner, a discourse, which Caumartin had sent him, ready drawn up, a few days before, and which concluded with a declaration, that he would not accept of his liberty, if it could be obtained upon no other terms than that of his resignation. By this refusal Cardinal de Retz acquired much credit, and he was greatly applauded for his apparent firmness: but, as this firmness did not come from himself, it lasted but a short time, and he could not refrain, soon afterwards, from opening himself, in a more undisguised manner, to Duflos Davanton, a young officer of the body-guards, to whom the court had lately committed the care of his eminency's person, and from acquainting him with his willingness to resign his see, provided he might be permitted to save appearances with the world, and to confer, on the subject, with Caumartin, or with the president de Bellievre, whose approbation he was determined to obtain before any thing should be concluded on. This kind of discourse he, afterwards, entered into so often, and with such earnestness, that Davanton clearly perceived that it would be no difficult matter to push the affair still further, and to obtain from him his resignation, even without the condition of saving appearances. But this new confidant acted with honour, and without abusing the trust which Cardinal de Retz reposed in him. He thought it sufficient to acquaint the Count de Noailles, the captain of the body-guards, with the inclination of his prisoner to listen seriously to the court's proposal for his resignation: to which Davanton was, perhaps, induced as much by motives of prudence as of honour, lest the Cardinal should disavow his own propositions, which he repeatedly threatened

threatened to do, in case he (Davanton) should exceed his commission; and, also, that he might insure to himself, by his discretion, the management of that important negotiation. He was apprehensive, lest the Cardinal should resume his connections with Pradelle, with whom his eminency still continued to preserve appearances, although he did it with the sole view of amusing him. What induced the Cardinal to place such confidence in Davanton was, the complaisance and civility of his behaviour to him, in all cases which did not regard the execution of his important charge; and this officer, moreover, with a little learning, and more abilities than what commonly fall to the share of persons of his profession, contributed to make him pass those hours, which always hang heavy on the hands of a person under confinement, with some degree of satisfaction.

Nevertheless, there were intervals, in which Cardinal de Retz still appeared to be very irresolute, and to have forgotten all the promises which he had given. This capriciousness greatly embarrassed Davanton at first: but, when he became better acquainted with the fickleness of his eminency's disposition, and had discovered his eagerness to obtain his liberty, he soon accustomed himself to this volatility of conduct in the Cardinal, which continued from the 15th of January 1652, to the time of the death of the Archbishop of Paris, which happened on the 21st of March of the same year.

This event produced some alteration in the face of affairs, Caumartin having had the address to cause possession to be taken of the archbishopric of Paris, in the name of Cardinal de Retz, by virtue of an instrument which was signed by him in the Castle of Vincennes; although it appeared to have been executed prior to the time of his detention. This instrument contained in substance, that the Cardinal, designing to make a journey to Rouen, had, thereby, impowered M. de Labour, his almoner, to take possession of the see, in his name, in case of the death of the archbishop, his uncle. It had been drawn up by

M. Roger, the notary to the apostolic see, and M. de Paris, a doctor of the Sorbonne. The chapter assembled, at seven o'clock in the morning, three hours only after the death of the archbishop, and every thing had been, previously, so well concerted, that the Dean, who, till now, had been the Cardinal's foe, espoused his interests with great zeal on this occasion, declaring that Cardinal de Retz was, doubtless, their legal archbishop, notwithstanding he had not taken the oath of fidelity to the King: a merely secular form, which the church did not consider as being at all necessary to the establishment of his title. The question, therefore, being put, it was determined, by the unanimous vote of the whole chapter, that M. de Labour, who waited without, should be introduced into the assembly, and should be installed, with all the customary forms and ceremonies: which was immediately executed. After this, the chapter deputed some of their members to the chancellor, to request that he would procure them an audience of the King, for the purpose of supplicating his Majesty to set Cardinal de Retz, their archbishop, at liberty, that he might be enabled to execute the duties of his office, during the approaching holy season. All this business was transacted without any persons appearing in behalf of the court, to oppose the measures which had been adopted, till near ten o'clock in the morning, when M. le Tellier went to the Dean's house, with a message from the king, requiring him to assemble the chapter, and to cause them to take upon themselves the spiritual government of the archbishopric, as being vacant *en Regale*, Cardinal de Retz not having taken the oath of fidelity; but the business was already finished. On the evening of the same day, the chapter went in a body to the Louvre, to present their remonstrances and petition to his Majesty: but the chancellor, without giving them time to speak, told them, that they had been very expeditious; that they had infringed upon the King's privileges; that his Majesty did not recognize Cardinal de Retz for archbishop of Paris, and that he enjoined them to elect a Grand Vicar, to take
upon

upon himself the spiritual government of the see, leaving it to the King to appoint proper persons, to be invested with the care of the temporalities : after which the Chancellor delivered to the Dean an edict of the council, containing all the foregoing particulars. The Dean attempted to reply, but the Queen made a sign to his Majesty not to suffer it, and the chapter was, therefore, obliged to retire.

This mode of proceeding caused an universal surprize. It was imputed to the virulence and haughtiness of the Queen. Many openly expressed their discontent, declaring that the rights of the church were violated, and that this conduct strongly resembled that of Henry the Eighth, King of England. The edict of the council having been read in an assembly of the chapter, three days afterwards, it was resolved to pay no regard to it, but to persist in their former determinations, and to recognize Mess. Chevalier and l'Avocat, for grand vicars of the diocese, on the credit of certain instruments, signed by Cardinal de Retz, which they presented to the assembly, and which had been fabricated by the authors of that by virtue of which M. de Labour took possession of the see. * Thus, those two ecclesiastics entered upon the execution of their function, of grand vicars, by ordering public prayers to be put up and the Host to be exposed in all the churches of Paris, four at a time, in order to obtain of heaven the releasement of their archbishop. The chapter of Notre-Dame first began these prayers : the curates of the city adopted the same mode of conduct, acknowledged the authority of the grand vicars, and expressed their resolution to accede to every measure which should be proposed, even to the shutting up the churches, should it be judged necessary to proceed to an interdict. † This would certainly have happened,

* That instrument was not signed by Cardinal de Retz. The superior of a college, whose name was le Houx, having been shewn some of his writing, counterfeited it so well, that every thing which was supposed to have been written by the Cardinal, was written by this man.

† The curates would have shut up their churches : but it was known that the Monks would not follow their example.

happened, all the necessary dispositions having been made, had Cardinal de Retz continued stedfast. The people, who shewed little concern for his imprisonment at first, now began to murmur, and to take fire on the score of religion ; and the Prince of Condé's friends did all in their power to inflame them. The Nuncio, also, promised to support the chapter, the grand vicars, and the curates, with all his power : and the first president de Bellievre had intimated that the parliament would not prove unfavourable to them. Thus, Caumartin, who had conducted the whole intrigue, made do doubt but that it would succeed, and that Cardinal de Retz would quickly be released, confiding in the letters which were daily received from him, filled with the most positive assurances, that he would not resign his see upon any account whatever. Nevertheless, his real sentiments were widely different from those which appeared in his letters : and, urged by his impatience, vexation, and, above all, the dread of the violent enterprizes which might be executed on his person, he rendered every thing which his friends had done in his favour ineffectual, at the time when they least expected that he would have acted in that manner.

If we consider the matter maturely, it will be difficult totally to condemn him, although, could he have held out for, perhaps, seven or eight days longer only, every thing might have been adjusted to his satisfaction : for a man who finds himself in the power of his enemies, and who has undergone a long imprisonment, reasons very differently from those who enjoy their liberty, and who imagine that nothing is more easy, than to wait patiently for the effects of their solicitations, or for any favourable turn of affairs which might arise. Be that as it may, Cardinal Mazarin, who, also, was not without his share of uneasiness and had his reasons for wishing to bring the affair to a speedy issue, sent, in all haste, the Count de Noailles, the captain of the body-guards, to the castle of Vincennes, in order to conclude the negotiation which had been begun by Davanton, on the strength of the assurances

rances which had been given by him, that Cardinal de Retz was fully determined to comply with the proposal for his resignation.

The Count repaired thither at an early hour of the morning, and was introduced into the Cardinal's chamber, whilst he was yet in bed. He began to read him a long lecture on the subject of the absolute obedience which every one was bound to pay to the King's authority, and of the disgraces to which those must expect to expose themselves who should fail in that part of their duty. This discourse proved very unpleasing to the Cardinal; and, although he was, in effect, resolved to comply with the wishes of the court, he, nevertheless, firmly rejected the Count's first proposals. Thus, the whole of this first conference passed in altercations, which were carried on with equal acrimony on both sides, although it took up, nearly, the space of two hours. Davanton, afterwards, took the opportunity, whilst the Count was refreshing himself, to inform him that he would obtain nothing from the Cardinal by haughtiness and by contradicting him, but that, if he would conduct himself with a little more mildness, and would grant his eminency the liberty, which he had constantly insisted on, of conferring with one of his friends he might lead him to consent to whatever he should require of him. The Count, therefore, now changed his tone, and, having renewed the conference, he quickly adjusted matters with Cardinal de Retz, who gave a positive promise to resign his see, upon certain conditions. One small difficulty, however, arose from the Count's requiring a written answer to his proposals, expressing the terms of the agreement which had been entered into by each party; but with this the Cardinal absolutely refused to comply, declaring that his word ought to be deemed sufficient; that, if the demand of a written answer should be persisted in, he would give one similar to that which he had formerly given to the Nuncio, that is to say, a direct refusal to resign, as, otherwise, he should totally forfeit his character with his friends, and that, moreover, he would not expose himself to the risk of the advantages which

which Cardinal Mazarin might derive from thence against him, without having any security for a recompence for his archbishopric. At length, the Count de Noailles was obliged to content himself with a verbal promise from the Cardinal, whereby he secretly engaged to resign his see, and a written answer, which was to be made public, in which Cardinal de Retz, after many protestations of obedience, thanked his Majesty for his kind intentions of restoring him to liberty; but he declared that he could not accept of it on the terms which had been proposed to him, of resigning the archbishopric of Paris, and of accepting, in lieu thereof, sundry benefices of an equivalent revenue; being persuaded that, in so doing, he should act contrary to his conscience, to his honour, and to his duty to the church.

Thus, the Count de Noailles departed from Vincennes, highly satisfied with the success of his negotiation, after having been profuse in his compliments and caresses to Davanton, and having given him the strongest assurances of the gratitude of Cardinal Mazarin, who was more interested in the event than any one else. He had particular reasons for conducting himself in this manner: for, being a creature of Cardinal Mazarin, and one of those who were the most devoted to his service, it behoved him to exert himself to the utmost, to terminate the affair to his eminency's advantage and satisfaction. The Count's fortune was inseparably connected with that of the Cardinal. Neither did he neglect any means to penetrate to the bottom the real sentiments of Cardinal de Retz, and, when he left the castle of Vincennes, he desired Davanton to accompany him a small distance, in order to question him on the subject with the greater freedom. But that officer, whether from motives of honour, or of discretion, and with the view of rendering the success of the affair more certain, did not think proper to give the Count de Noailles any further information, and the Count, having remarked the great confidence which Cardinal de Retz placed in him, obligingly reproached him, at the same time redoubling his compliments

pliments and caresses, that it was plainly to be perceived that he knew more than he was willing to communicate. This was more true than he imagined: for had Davanton been inclined to break through the promises of secrecy and fidelity which he had given to Cardinal de Retz, the court might have obtained from him his resignation upon much easier terms, and perhaps, without any condition at all.

Caumartin and the other friends of Cardinal de Retz knew nothing of the mystery of that conference, and, like the rest of the world, formed their judgment from the written answer only, which was made public on the very day it was given: the prisoner having simply acquainted them that he had renewed his demand for leave to confer with one of his friends on the state of his affairs, and that he hoped that it would, at length, be granted him. It has already been observed that what compelled him to insist on this interview was, that he might be enabled to preserve his reputation, and to persuade the world into a belief that he had been advised to resign his see; imagining that, if he should not be able to bring his friend over to his opinion, he would not, at least, dare to oppose it directly, nor to let the court know that he had been disposed to controvert it.

Be that as it may, Caumartin, who judged of his intentions from his letters only, continued to press the execution of those measures which he had concerted with the clergy, for procuring Cardinal de Retz his liberty; and, having learnt that the first president de Bellievre had been appointed by the court, to confer with the Cardinal according to his request, he waited on him, to desire that he would fortify his eminency in the resolution, which he supposed him to have taken, not to resign his see upon any account. But he was much surprized to learn from him the whole mystery, and the success of Davanton's negotiation, which had been communicated to the first President by Cardinal Mazarin, in order to apprize him of the disposition in which he would find Cardinal de Retz, ordering him, also, to acquaint him that, as soon as he should

have granted his resignation in form, he might be assured that he should be delivered into the hands of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, to be conducted to the castle of Nantes, where he should be guarded by him as his friend, until the court of Rome should have accepted of his resignation. This, however, was not sufficient to undeceive Caumartin. Prepossessed by the reiterated protestations of Cardinal de Retz, to listen to no terms whatever, he endeavoured to persuade the first President that the Cardinal had only feigned to listen to Davanton, in order to amuse the court, and the more easily to obtain the permission to confer with one of his friends, to whom he might communicate his real intentions ; and concert together the measures necessary to be taken.

The first President, convinced by Caumartin's arguments, and by the perusal of several letters which had been recently received from Cardinal de Retz, went therefore to Vincennes, in hopes of fortifying him in his resolution, and with the view of advising him to persist in his refusal. He, nevertheless, in conformity to the orders of the court, took with him two notaries, to draw up the act of the Cardinal's resignation, in case of need. Upon his arrival at Vincennes, before he went into the Cardinal's apartment, he desired to have a little private conversation with Davanton. He represented to him the three last letters which he had written to the court, whereby he earnestly solicited that one of Cardinal de Retz's friends might be sent, with all speed, to consummate the affair, the success of which he, in a manner, engaged for ; he questioned him, in twenty different ways, relative to the foundation which he had, for giving such positive assurances : he frankly declared to him that he could, by no means, be of the same opinion ; and that it was much more likely that he, being a young man and inexperienced in the world, had suffered himself to be duped by Cardinal de Retz, who was versed in intrigues and dissimulation. But, Davanton persisting that he had asserted nothing in his letters for which he had not the strongest foundation, of the truth of which M. de Bellevre would quickly be convinced, they went together
into

into the Cardinal's chamber: the first President repeatedly rallying Davanton, and expressing, both by his gestures and his words, that he believed nothing of the matter. But scarcely had he entered into conference with the Cardinal on the subject, than he perceived that Davanton was right, having found his eminency still more disposed to resign his see than Davanton had represented him to be, and that, if the court had thought proper to exact other conditions from him, he would have complied without much hesitation. Thus, the terms of their agreement were quickly adjusted, and nothing now remained but to reduce them to form. They consisted of the following articles: to wit. 1. That two instruments of Cardinal de Retz's resignation should be executed, one of which should remain in the hands of the first President, and the other should be sent to court, to be ratified by the Pope. 2. That, in the mean time, Cardinal de Retz should be delivered into the hands of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, his relation, who should conduct him to the castle of Nantes, where he should remain, till intelligence should be received from Rome, with permission to receive visits from his friends. 3. That the Marshal de la Meilleraye should pledge his honour, both verbally and by a written promise, not to suffer him, upon any pretext whatever, to be removed from the castle of Nantes to any other place, and to set him at full liberty, as soon as his resignation should be accepted by the court of Rome, without waiting for any further orders from the King.

The first President then sent for the two notaries, who had remained concealed in a coach at the gate of the castle: but Pradelle, who was highly enraged to see the affair concluded, thus, under his nose and without his participation, made a great difficulty, at first, to suffer them to enter the castle with the first President; alledging that the order did not mention that any other person was to be admitted with him. But, at length, the first President, having represented to him the importance of the affair, and the consequences which would result from his preventing its conclusion by his
 chagrin,

chagrin, he consented to admit the notaries, who were introduced by Davanton, into Cardinal de Retz's chamber, where they drew up two instruments of his resignation, which were signed by him, and which were delivered to the first President, as witness and guarantee of the promises which had been given on both sides.

Every thing being thus settled, the first President hastened to court, with the news, where it was received with great joy, even by many of the friends of Cardinal de Retz. But there were others to whom it gave much uneasiness, particularly to Caumartin, who was told by the first President, by way of consolation, that he had been the dupe of Cardinal de Retz; and that his eminency, far from being in the disposition of mind in which he (Caumartin) had represented him to be, had thrown his resignation at his head, without waiting to be asked for it.

The chapter and the curates, who had vigorously exerted themselves, to little purpose, in favour of the Cardinal, were also greatly surprized at his resignation, and this induced them to form a much less elevated opinion of his constancy and firmness, than they had hitherto entertained. Finally, this step was productive of great prejudice to his affairs in the sequel. Pere de Gondy was the person who felt the most concern on this occasion, having replied to those who acquainted him with the circumstance, as imagining that it would be pleasing to him, on account of the release of the Cardinal, his son, that he should much more willingly have embraced him dead in his prison, than living and at liberty on such terms; being unable to add any thing further, for the tears which flowed from his eyes in great abundance.

Even the Dutchesse de Lesdiguières, who had used every endeavour to bring matters to the state in which they now were, was, nevertheless, not at all satisfied, because that neither herself, nor Servien, nor Pradelle, which was the same, had been admitted to any share in the management of the business: all these persons had flattered themselves, that they should derive great advantages from the court, through the means

means of this negotiation, which, however, was concluded without their intervention, and of which they did not become acquainted but by the general report.

There were then, in fact, only the Duke and Dutchess de Retz, the Dukes de Brissac and de Noirmoutier, the Marquis de Laigues, and the Dutchess de Chevreuse who were pleased with the completion of this affair, from which they had long sought to extricate themselves, in order to get rid of the scandal of having attempted nothing in favour of their brother, their relation, and their friend. But the person who felt the most satisfaction was Cardinal de Retz himself, who, without concerning himself with what might be said of the conduct of others, had aimed only at recovering his liberty, and at relieving himself from the continual apprehensions which he had been under during the whole time of his imprisonment. To say the truth, it will be difficult to determine whether he acted right or wrong, in this instance, if we consider the virulence which the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin manifested towards him, and the dangerous designs which he knew had been formed against his person. Whatever our decision on the matter may be, it must be acknowledged, that it was neither necessary, nor even honourable, having thus resolved in what manner to act, to amuse, as he did to the last, Caumartin and his other friends.

Be that as it may, Cardinal Mazarin having obtained his aims, did not suffer the business to linger. He immediately issued the necessary orders for removing Cardinal de Retz to the Castle of Nantes, the Marshal de la Meilleraye having gone, to receive him, to Vincennes, accompanied by the Marquis de Villequier, in conformity to the custom, which ordains that a prisoner shall receive his liberty from the person by whom he was deprived of it. After this, the assurances already specified were given him, both verbally and in writing. The Marshal de la Meilleraye caused the Cardinal to be taken from the castle, out of the hands of Davanton, who escorted his eminency to Nantes, with a detachment of three hundred horse, from the
different

different brigades of the Queen's guards, the gens-d'armes, the light horse, and Cardinal Mazarin's guards, together with one hundred and fifty musqueteers, draughted from the two companies of the regiment of body-guards, which Pradelle commanded at Vincennes. This removal of Cardinal de Retz took place on the 30th of March 1654. It may be said that so numerous an escort did not give the transaction much of the air of a releasement from confinement, and that it rather resembled a change of prison. And indeed, when Cardinal de Retz was acquainted with the intention by Davanton, on the eve of his departure, he was terrified to such a degree, that he could not refrain from tears, declaring that the promises which had been made him were violated; that an engagement had been entered into, to deliver him into the hands of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, as into the hands of a friend, who had promised to be responsible for his person: that, could he have expected to have been thus treated, he would never have yielded his resignation, together with many other assertions of a like nature, which sufficiently expressed the trouble of his mind, and Davanton found it very difficult to dispel his fears, by representing to him that the court had been obliged to take these precautions, from the apprehension that the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac might attempt to rescue him upon the rout. But this was a meer pretext; for it is very certain that those gentlemen had not the smallest intention of the kind, and that the suspicion did them much more honour than they deserved.

This change in the situation of Cardinal de Retz had been predicted and foreseen by Goiset, the advocate, who had also foretold the Duke of Beaufort's escape from confinement. In a letter which he wrote to one of the Cardinal's friends, he tells him to take comfort, and to wait with patience; that the Cardinal's imprisonment would not be of much longer duration; that several negotiations for his releasement would be set on foot, the first effects of which he would experience in the month of March 1654, but that the whole would not be completed

pleated till towards the 15th of October of the same year : all which was confirmed by the event. The situation in which the Cardinal found himself in the Castle of Nantes was, in fact, nothing more than a shadow of liberty. For, though the Marshal de la Meilleraye shewed him every civility and indulgence possible, he, nevertheless, caused him to be as strictly guarded, as he had before been, in the castle of Vincennes.

The apartment assigned to Cardinal de Retz was a chamber, on the second floor, at the door of which four soldiers were constantly posted during the night, together with another centinel in the court yard, under his windows. It is true that, in the day-time, he was permitted to walk about the castle, as he pleased, and on a terrace, which overlooked the river, St. Peter's mount, and the suburbs of Nantes. But he was constantly attended by two of his guards, who had orders to watch all his steps, not to mention two centinels, who were continually upon duty at the end of the terrace, at the distance of about sixty paces from each other. Thus, the Marshal neglected nothing for the security of the Cardinal's person, for which he had made himself responsible to the court : but it must be confessed that, in every other respect, he shewed him all the good treatment which he could desire. Not to mention the elegance with which his table was served, he frequently assembled at the castle the principal persons, of both sexes, both of the city and of the province. He often caused dramatic performances to be represented before the Cardinal, and formed daily parties of play, and played very deeply himself. He permitted Cardinal de Retz to have a free intercourse with all his friends and domestics, till the hour of his retiring to rest, which was about eleven o'clock at night. In short, there was nothing which could tend to divert a friend in such a situation, which the Marshal did not put in practice, with a civility and complaisance which did honour to his politeness and to his rank. This mode of conduct greatly consoled Cardinal de Retz. On the very next day after his arrival, he was visited by the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac, who shewed the greatest civility and respect

spect for Davanton, in the presence of Pradelle, whom they had determined to mortify, seeing that the Cardinal was not pleased with his conduct. Caumartin, also, repaired thither in a short time afterwards : but Joli, who was at Machecoul, was not permitted to pay his visit so soon, Cardinal de Retz having sent him word not to be in a hurry, and that it would be necessary to take some previous measures, respecting him, with the Marshal de la Meilleraye, on account of certain past transactions, in which it was known he had had a greater share than any other person. The truth is, that the Cardinal, at first, found it difficult to persuade himself to see Joli, well remembering the advice which he had given him before his imprisonment. He was apprehensive that Joli would reproach him with that circumstance, as well as with the act of his resignation. Moreover, the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac were not very urgent for this interview, being fully convinced that Joli would not fail to inform the Cardinal of every thing that had past during his imprisonment. From hence there is good reason to believe, that Joli would not have been admitted to wait on him so soon, but for the solicitations of Caumartin, who incessantly pressed his eminency to send for him. Three weeks, therefore, elapsed, after the Cardinal's arrival at Nantes, before Joli was sent for thither. He was extremely well received by the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who plainly gave him to understand, that it had not been his fault that this interview had been so long delayed. Thus, Cardinal de Retz, in a short time, resumed the confidence which he had formerly placed in him, and committed to his care all his cyphers and papers, relating to all his affairs, both at Rome, Paris, and elsewhere, giving him at the same time, fresh marks of his esteem and friendship for him. Joli, therefore, was very cautious, in all his conversations with the Cardinal, not to say any thing which might give him uneasiness. If, at any time, his eminency's imprisonment became the subject of their discourse, Joli contented himself with observing, that it had befallen him in consequence of his regard for the

the i
less,
von
fak
he
afte
ing
fitu
ever
of
nec
sen
tha
oth
Me
wh
ev
the
ne
di
of
T
m
ab
hi
sh
sh
V
th
se
th
to
u
v
F
C
C

the interests of his friends, and that they, nevertheless, had declined to undertake any thing in his favour, although he had sacrificed himself for their sakes. With respect to the affair of the resignation, he remarked that the Cardinal had not, perhaps, acted wrong in granting it, for the sake of extricating himself from the place, and from the dangerous situation in which he was at the time; adding, however, that he was persuaded that the whole conduct of the court, on that occasion, proceeded from meer necessity, in order to avoid the first heat of the resentment of the chapter and of the clergy, and, finally, that Cardinal Mazarin would certainly, at some time or other, take him out of the hands of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, for to place him in some other prison, where he would be more strictly guarded, than he had even been at Vincennes. Caumartin pursued nearly the same line of conduct, never reproaching his eminency with any thing, but in the slightest manner, and directing his aim, chiefly, to awaken his apprehensions of what the court might still undertake against him. These suggestions made so strong an impression on the mind of Cardinal de Retz, that he concerted, with the above two persons, the necessary measures for effecting his escape from the castle of Nantes, whenever they should judge the time to be favourable, or if the court should attempt to remove him to any other place. When every thing had been agreed upon between them, with the utmost secrecy, Joli took upon himself the necessary preparations for the execution of the design. Caumartin determined to return to Paris, to keep up the spirits of the Cardinal's friends. Joli undertook, also, to confirm his eminency in the design which had been agreed upon. For this reason, he was particularly assiduous in cultivating the favour of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, which was absolutely requisite towards his obtaining leave to continue at Nantes, that he might be on the spot, ready to act as occasion should require. Cardinal de Retz, also affected to conduct himself towards the Marshal with the utmost confidence and unreserve, communicating to him
all

all the letters which he received from Rome, of which Joli always carried him the originals, after having decyphered them and interlined the true sense: which practice he pursued for a considerable time, and till certain incidents arose, which it was deemed highly necessary to keep secret.

The Marshal entertained so strong a sense of this frankness that, in return, he, perhaps too generously, often shewed Cardinal de Retz the dispatches which were sent him from the court on the subject of which he, more than once, uttered the most bitter invectives against Cardinal Mazarin, in the presence of Cardinal de Retz and of Joli, declaring himself to be a greater Frondeur than they had ever been, and that his hatred to Cardinal Mazarin exceeded theirs by a hundred degrees. But they gave no further credit to this kind of discourse than was necessary, seeing that, although it might probably be sincere, yet it was not a sufficient security for his conduct, he being so strictly attached to the service of the court, by every motive of interest and preferment.

In the mean time, the Court and Cardinal de Retz acted in concert, to obtain the Pope's acceptance of his resignation. M. de Gaumont was appointed by the King to go to Rome on that business. As Gaumont did not travel with much haste, the packet, containing his instructions, and directed, under cover, to the Abbé Charrier, arrived at that city a considerable time before him. The Abbé, being apprized of the contents of the packet, every dexterously opened it, and took out the instrument of resignation: after which, having carefully sealed it up again, he delivered it to Gaumont, immediately upon his arrival, no marks whatever appearing of its having been opened. Gaumont, not finding in it the paper in question, wrote on the subject to the first President: but, as that Magistrate, who was secretly attached to Cardinal de Retz, gave himself little concern about the matter, nothing further was done in it. Moreover, the Pope having declared his fixed resolution not to accept of this involuntary resignation, which had been executed in a
prison,

prison, it would have been to no purpose to have produced the instrument: for which reason it was judged totally needless to pursue the enquiry. The Abbé Charrier, nevertheless, was very assiduous in the execution of his commission; and, if his Holiness had been as readily inclined to comply with what the court required, as Cardinal de Retz wished him to be, every thing would quickly have been adjusted, and the instrument of resignation would soon have been found again; all that the Abbé Charrier had done in the affair having been with the sole view of getting the instrument into his hands, and of encreasing his consequence, accordingly, as circumstances might arise. In the mean time, although Cardinal de Retz had not, in the least, contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the Pope's refusal to ratify his resignation, yet his enemies, and particularly the Abbé Fouquet, nevertheless, took occasion from hence to represent to Cardinal Mazarin, that he caused the Abbé Charrier secretly to oppose the conclusion of the business, and that he did not mean to fulfil the engagement which he had entered into, adding, that he had received certain intelligence that the Cardinal was projecting the means of his escape, and that he would effect it; unless due care was taken to prevent him. All this intelligence was, however, totally false at that time, as the Abbé Charrier was in earnest in the prosecution of the business at Rome, and as the design of effecting the Cardinal's escape from the castle of Nantes was not to be carried into execution, unless the conduct of the court towards him should undergo any alteration. If it was verified in the sequel, the Abbé Fouquet must be considered as the cause of it, by suggesting to the court and Cardinal Mazarin such suspicions, as obliged them to send fresh orders, for the Cardinal's being watched with greater strictness than he had hitherto been. The truth, however, is, that he was constantly busied in contriving the means of his escape, according to the unanimous advice of his friends, without paying attention to any other consideration whatever. His Holiness, also, was of the same opinion, and incessantly pressed

pressed the Abbé Charrier to write to Cardinal de Retz upon the subject, and to exhort him to come to Rome promising to do every thing in his favour which he could desire. But, as the Abbé represented to his Holiness the various difficulties and dangers which must attend an enterprize of that nature, and that any further delay might compel the court to remove the Cardinal to some more secure and more close prison : the Pope replied that there was no remedy ; that, if he was in the hands of the Turks, he must wait with patience, and that he (the Pope) could not, in conscience, accept a resignation so contrary to the established laws of the church.

This was the opinion of the first president de Belliévre, also, whom Caumartin had been commissioned to sound on the subject; and although he did not explain himself with sufficient freedom at first, because Caumartin was a little upon the reserve, it was apparent enough what his real sentiments were, from his observing that Cardinal de Retz was too judicious a man to suffer himself to be diverted from his designs, and that, as Joli was at Nantes, he did not doubt but that he would take a proper time for carrying every necessary measure into execution : but he spoke in a more explicit manner in the sequel, for he declared, in plain terms, that the properest conduct which Cardinal de Retz could pursue would be, immediately upon his quitting Nantes, to come directly to Paris ; to revoke the act of his resignation ; to assume the possession of his diocese in person, and to take the customary oath of fidelity to the parliament : to all which he promised to contribute to the utmost of his power, being ready to answer almost for the event. Caumartin had, also, secured the concurrence of the first President of the chamber of accounts, with respect to the oath of fidelity.

Finally, there was not one of Cardinal de Retz's friends who did not advise him to attempt his escape, not excepting even the Duke de Brissac, the Abbé Charrier, and the rest of those who had been the most eager for his resigning, and that because they were not

satisfied

satisfied with the manner in which his resignation had been granted, and that they rightly judged that, had it been accepted by the Pope, Cardinal de Retz would have been deprived of all consequence in the state, and would have been rendered incapable of affording them any service in future: whereas, should he make his escape from the castle of Nantes, that event might give birth to fresh negotiations with the court, from which those who should be admitted to a share therein would derive a greater degree of advantage.

Nevertheless, Cardinal de Retz resisted, to the very last, the sentiments of his most intimate friends; and, although he received daily advice of the evil designs of Cardinal Mazarin, and of the incessant solicitations of the Abbé Fouquet, to procure his removal to Brest, it was with great difficulty that he could prevail on himself to adopt the design of making his escape, having conceived a notion that the disgusts of the court arose solely from the Pope's refusal to comply with what was required of him, and from a suspicion that he (the Cardinal) did not exert himself to the utmost of his power to obtain the acceptance of his resignation. He was, moreover, confirmed in this opinion by the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who advised him, in order to remove every doubt of his sincerity, to write another letter to the Pope, requesting him, in the most pressing terms, to accept his resignation, and to send the ratification thereof to the first President, by Malclerc his eminency's equerry, who, if the court should judge proper, might be sent to Rome, with the most positive orders on the subject to the Abbé Charrier: all which was accordingly executed.

However, from this time, Cardinal de Retz began to act with more reserve, and to alter his conduct towards the Marshal. He was no longer suffered to see the dispatches from Rome, but with a false decyphrement, which had been composed for the purpose, by Joli, in such a manner, as to leave no doubt on his mind of its authenticity, and to confirm him in his opinion, that nothing was neglected to procure the Pope's acceptance of his resignation, the Cardinal not thinking

ing it proper to let him know that his Holiness had counselled him to attempt his escape.

Nevertheless, this new application, from Cardinal de Retz to the court of Rome, could not induce the Abbé Fouquet to desist from sending repeated advices to the court, that it was his eminency's intention to make his escape, on the first opportunity that should offer; and, perceiving that his letters did not make a sufficient impression on the King, and on Cardinal Mazarin, who were, at that time, at a distance from Paris, employed in affairs of another nature, he resolved to make a journey to the place where they then were, to solicit in person, and to procure the necessary orders to be issued, for removing his eminency to Brest. The first President having received intelligence of this circumstance, communicated it to Caumartin, and this latter to Cardinal de Retz, who, having learnt that the Marshal de la Meilleraye had, at the same time, received more express orders than before, to confine him with a greater degree of strictness, began to listen, in earnest, to those who advised him to attempt the means of extricating himself from captivity. But, as he did not mean to carry that design into execution, till compelled thereto by the utmost necessity, he resolved, first of all, to sound the Marshal, to know in what manner he would conduct himself, in case that the court should issue orders for removing him to Brest, or that the King should come, expressly for that purpose, to Nantes, as it was reported that his Majesty intended.

With this view, he fixed on the Duke de Brissac, the Marshal's brother-in-law, to whom he judged it was time to unfold his design, seeing that he should stand in need of his assistance in the execution of it. He wrote to him, at his seat at Beaupreau, desiring to see him. The Duke, accordingly, came in a few days, and engaged, not only to learn how far they might confide in the Marshal, but, also, to furnish him with all the assistance in his power, to enable him to make his escape, and to conduct him afterwards to Paris, or wherever else he should be inclined to retire. These offers gave great satisfaction to the Cardinal, who had a friendship

a friendship for the Duke, and who not did doubt of the sincerity of his promises; insomuch that, full of these flattering hopes, he immediately sent for Joli, and told him that he might concert the necessary measures with the Duke de Brissac, who was ready to undertake every thing for his service. Joli was not so credulous, nor could he refrain from expressing himself with some freedom on the subject, adding, however, that his assistance would be requisite to the execution of their design, and that they must obtain all that they could from him. For this purpose, he proposed to him a variety of schemes, for releasing the Cardinal, the chief of which depended totally on the Duke for its success, because, he being lodged in a chamber directly underneath the wardrobe of Cardinal de Retz, it was proposed that, an opening being previously made in the floor, his eminency should let himself down into the Duke's apartment, and should conceal himself in one of the trunks for the baggage, which should be constructed in a particular manner for the purpose, and should be conveyed from the castle, as usual, on a mule, at a very early hour of the morning.

This contrivance was, at first, much approved by the Duke de Brissac, who gave orders to M. de la Bade, his equerry, to confer with Joli on the mode of constructing the trunk, and on the other preparations which it would be necessary to make. He had, afterwards, a conversation with the Marshal de la Meilleraye, for the purpose of learning in what manner he intended to conduct himself, in case he should receive orders from the court, for the Cardinal's removal to any other place of imprisonment: and the Marshal, without explaining himself any further, briefly answered that he was neither inclined, nor was he in a situation to resist the King's authority. But, being afterwards questioned, on the same subject, by his wife, who was the Duke's sister, and Madame de Chaulusse, the wife of the King's lieutenant, he opened himself to them with less reserve, and they both gave it as their opinion, that no dependance was to be placed on him.

Upon receiving this answer, his eminency and the Duke were of opinion, that all the necessary preparations

tions should be made, for carrying into execution the projected design; and, in order to avoid giving the Marshal any suspicion, it was agreed that the Duke, who had never been accustomed to stay long at Nantes, should return home, till he should be sent for.

But Joli, who was sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Duke de Brissac, and was fully convinced that he would engage no further in that affair, contrived another scheme, of a more adventurous kind, for the Cardinal's releasement, in the execution of which the Duke was to have no share whatever. This was to let his eminency down, in full day-light, with a cord, and sitting upon a piece of wood, from the top of the terrace, where he was permitted to walk, and which overlooked a part of the shore of the river, adjoining to a watering-place. Some of the Cardinal's friends were to be in waiting on the spot, with horses for himself and his attendants, and to conduct him through the suburbs of Richebourg, to a rendezvous on the banks of the Loire, four or five leagues above Nantes, where some boats were to be in readiness, to convey them over the river, and on the other side they were to find relays of horses, posted at different stages, to conduct them, with all possible dispatch, to Paris. This expedient was not communicated to the Duke de Brissac, through fear of diminishing the zeal which he constantly manifested for the Cardinal's service. But Joli, nevertheless, made all the preparations which he judged necessary to its execution, and sent to Paris for the Abbé Rousseau, brother of the Cardinal's steward, a man firmly attached to his eminency, of great bodily strength, and, in every respect, very fit for the service in which it was intended to employ him.

This Abbé, being arrived at Nantes, provided himself with a cord, for the execution of the design, a large piece of wood, called a spring-tree bar of a coach, to which the traces of the horses are fastened, to be fixed to the end of the cord, and on which the Cardinal was to sit, and a leather belt with a strong buckle to it, to fasten his eminency to the cord about his waist, lest any accident should happen.

The

The necessary preparations for the execution of these two designs being nearly compleated, Cardinal de Retz, who received daily intelligence of the evil intentions of the court, and how necessary it was that he should use the utmost dispatch, sent to the Duke de Brissac, to request that he would return to Nantes, to make good the promises which he had given: he accordingly came, two days afterwards, constantly expressing the utmost willingness to comply with what should be required of him: and la Bade, his equerry, having delivered into the hands of Joli the trunk which he had caused to be constructed, they made an opening in it, for the admission of the air. The trunk was approved of by Joli, and by Imbert, the Cardinal's valet de chambre, each of whom, at different times, continued in it for upwards of half an hour: after which it was agreed that the enterprize should be executed on the Monday morning the 3d of August, 1654. But the Duke de Brissac stipulated that he should, first, be permitted to go to Machecoul, in order, as a mere matter of compliment, to acquaint the two Dukes de Retz with the affair, promising to return, without fail, on the Sunday night, to put the last hand to the work. Sunday came and passed, without any tidings from him, and he did not return till very late on the Monday, imputing his delay to an inundation which had carried away the bridge over a small river, which lies on the road between Machecoul and Nantes: after which, he frankly declared to Cardinal de Retz, that the two Dukes had earnestly advised him not to engage in an affair of that nature, as being the Marshal's brother-in-law, and residing under his roof: so that he thus disengaged himself from the performance of all those promises and assurances, of which he had before been so lavish.

The Cardinal, feigning to be convinced by his arguments, pressed the matter no further; and, having quitted him for a few minutes, he acquainted Joli with this alteration in his sentiments: on which they determined to obtain from him, at least, all the assistance that they could, respecting the other scheme, with which the Cardinal now, first, made him acquainted:

VOL. I.

N

requesting

requesting that, immediately upon his return home, he would dispatch his equerry, with a horse for Cardinal de Retz, and to secure some boats, to enable him to cross the Loire to the rendezvous which was pointed out to him. The Cardinal further requested, that he would send some horses, to be in readiness, on the other side of the river, to convey him to Brissac, and from thence to the several places of residence of the Marquis de Chateaufrenaud, the Marquis de Vassé, and the Marquis de Fosseuse, where his eminency was certain of finding the necessary equipages, to convey him and his retinue, with the utmost dispatch, to Paris. The Duke de Brissac joyfully embraced this proposal, as it set him free from his first engagement, which he could not have fulfilled with honour, with respect to his connection with the Marshal, or without great danger; seeing that, according to the plan which had been agreed upon, he was to remain the last in the castle, and not to have set out from thence till after his baggage. For this reason, he cannot, in reality, be much blamed for his unwillingness to expose himself to so great a risk: but neither can he be exculpated from the charge of a too great fickleness, in promising, thus, in so positive a manner, and afterwards flying from his word in the very moment of execution. He ought, before he had engaged himself, to have maturely deliberated on the matter, and to have foreseen the consequences with which it was likely to be attended.

Be that as it may, the Duke immediately returned home, to give the necessary orders for the execution of what he had undertaken. However, as the expedient of the trunk was more pleasing to the Cardinal than the other, Joli, having learnt that the Dutchesse de Retz was on the road to Nantes, and that she was to be lodged in the apartment which had been occupied by the Duke de Brissac, proposed to execute the project by her intervention. This proposal was highly approved by Cardinal de Retz, and even by the Dutchesse, who, having a disagreement with the Duke de Brissac, was charmed with this opportunity of mortifying

fyng him, by manifesting more resolution and generosity than he had shewn, adding, that, had he been urgent with the Dukes de Retz, they would, in all probability, have yielded, and that she did not doubt but that, if Joli was to be sent to Machecoul, he might obtain their consent to the measure. These assurances from the Dutchess, reiterately repeated with marks of former affection, induced Cardinal de Retz to send Joli to Machecoul, in spite of his representations of the small probability there was of his succeeding, and of the danger of giving umbrage to the Marshal, who would naturally entertain some suspicion of the design of the journey. To remove this difficulty, they agreed to tell the Marshal that the Dutchess was upon bad terms with her husband; that this was the cause of her journey to Nantes, and that the Cardinal, being desirous of reconciling them, had sent Joli to Machecoul, because the Duke placed great confidence in him. All this was told to the Marshal by the Cardinal himself, who, at the same time, earnestly requested that he would not suffer this family secret to transpire, and that he would acquaint those who should appear curious to know the cause of Joli's journey, that it was occasioned by his having received intelligence of the vacancy of a priory, of six thousand livres a year value, in the gift of the Duke de Retz. The Marshal readily fell into the snare, commiserating the misfortune of the Dutchess, for whom he had formerly entertained sentiments of a particular regard: but this did not at all benefit the Cardinal's affairs. Joli found the two Dukes de Retz so averse, and so prejudiced against the measure, that he could obtain nothing from them but express orders to cause the Dutchess to return home without delay, threatening to make him responsible for the consequences: so that he was obliged to return without effecting any thing.

During his absence, the Dutchess had proposed to the Cardinal to make his escape in her coach, disguised in the habit of one of her female attendants, who, as well as herself, always went out masked, without ever being examined at the gate of the castle: but, as

this proposal was made on the same conditions, only, of the consent of her father and her husband, she was set free from these new engagements immediately upon the return of Joli, who caused her instantly to depart, in order to relieve the two Dukes from their anxiety; the Cardinal having told the Marshal, that Joli's journey had proved successful, and that all differences had been accommodated in the most satisfactory manner.

However, la Bade, the Duke de Brissac's equerry, having arrived at Nantes on the same day, two hours after the Dutchess's departure, with a horse for the Cardinal, he sent notice of his arrival to Joli, who instantly went to him, at a house in the suburbs of Richebourg, and was acquainted by him, that the Duke de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sevigny would certainly be in readiness, at the rendezvous on the banks of the river, four leagues distant from Nantes, at six o'clock in the evening; of all which the Cardinal being informed, he determined to execute his design of escaping, at five o'clock that evening, which was his customary hour of walking on the terrace. So that, all the requisite preparations having been made for that purpose, the Abbé Rousseau, who had undertaken to let his eminency down from the terrace, repaired to the castle, with the cord and the belt carefully concealed under his gown: and, that he might want neither for advice nor assistance, M. Vacherot, a physician of the faculty of Paris, was appointed his associate in the enterprize; a man closely attached to the person of Cardinal de Retz, of great resolution and presence of mind, and well qualified by his prudence and moderation, to temper the violence and vivacity of the Abbé Rousseau. It was also resolved that Fromantin and Imbert, the first the Cardinal's surgeon, and the other his valet de chambre, who were accustomed to attend him in his usual walks on the terrace, should have some bottles of wine to treat the centinel, who, alone, could perceive, from his station, what passed on the spot which the Cardinal had fixed on, for the execution of his design.

All these preparations being made, Cardinal de Retz sent for M. Salmonet, a Scotch priest, of much learning

ing

ing and merit, who had long lived in his family, and M. Montet, his brother, who was afterwards killed in Alsace, lieutenant-colonel of the Scotch regiment of Douglas; together with M. de Boisguerin, a gentleman of Brittany, strongly attached to the Cardinal, and M. de Beauchefne, one of his old domestics, all very brave and resolute men, to whom he declared his intention of making his escape, desiring them to act according to whatever instructions they should receive from Joli. They all received this intelligence with every mark of joy and approbation, excepting Salmonet, who, with tears in his eyes, exerted all his endeavours to dissuade the Cardinal from that design, by representing to him, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences with which it might be attended. This made some impression on the mind of his brother, Montet, who, also, although a very brave man, began to reflect seriously on the matter. But, the Cardinal having listened to them with great coolness, and still persisting in his resolution, they, at length, all quitted the castle in about three or four hours afterwards, in order to make themselves ready to mount their horses, as soon as the clock at the castle should strike five, to repair with la Bade, the Duke de Brisfac's equerry, to the appointed rendezvous, which was the watering-place for all the horses of the quarter, and which was situated near the end of the terrace. But, as nothing could be seen from the watering-place, of what was doing at the spot where the Cardinal was to be let down, at least without going a considerable way into the river, M. Paris, an ecclesiastic, was ordered to place himself in a meadow on the other side of the river, and to throw his hat, three times, up into the air, when he should see the Cardinal coming down from the terrace. This arrangement had nearly ruined every thing, Paris having forgot to give the signal, and thinking only of making his escape. But what most embarrassed Joli and his companions was, that the Cardinal, being intimidated, in the very moment of execution, by Salmonet, who had continued with him, did not repair to the terrace till a full-quarter of

an

an hour after the clock had struck : and the remonstrances of this pusillanimous wretch operated so powerfully on his eminency, that he ordered Imbert to tell Joli to put off the design till the next day. But Imbert frankly told him, that it was no longer a time to delay matters ; that the affair was known to too many persons, not to be discovered, in case its execution should be further deferred ; that the sole circumstance of the arrival of the Duke de Brissac's equerry, with a led horse, which would, doubtless, be communicated to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, was sufficient for that purpose ; that the next day was Sunday, when all the inhabitants of the city were accustomed to walk on the mount, which was at the foot of the terrace ; that, after all, he would go and acquaint Joli with this change in his eminency's resolution, if he should absolutely insist on it, but he declared, that having so done, he would not return to the castle, nor did he think that Joli would be so mad as to continue any longer at Nantes, seeing that they should thereby run the hazard of their lives.

Finally, the arguments which Imbert made use of were so cogent and so reasonable, that the Cardinal, at length, determined to quit his chamber, attended by Vacherot, and the Abbé Rousseau, who carried under his cassock all the necessary implements ; Salmonot having retired at the same time, to his own apartments, to continue his lamentations by himself. Imbert and Fromantin also followed the Cardinal. Being arrived at the terrace, his eminency pretended to be thirsty, and ordered Imbert to fetch him some wine : which he did in all haste. After the Cardinal had drank, he made a private signal to Fromantin and to Imbert, and continued his walk. Those two persons told the centinels, that they should finish the bottle and drink to his eminency's health ; and, feigning to be afraid of his seeing what they were about, they drew them aside, behind a tower, where they began to drink. In the mean time, the Cardinal, having taken off his red robe, hung it on a stick between two of the battlements, in such a manner as to make the centinels believe,

believe, when they should return to their posts, that he was amusing himself, as usual, with looking at the people who were walking on St. Peter's Mount. Having afterwards placed himself on the [escarpolette] piece of wood which was fastened to the end of the cord, and having caused the cord and the belt to be fixed round his body, he was safely let down, from one of the battlements, by the Abbé Rousseau and M. Vacherot, to the foot of the wall. At the sight of this manœuvre, M. Paris betook himself to flight, without making his signal, which gave a great alarm to Joli and his companions, who had remained during the whole time, with much impatience and anxiety, at the appointed rendezvous at the watering-place. But Joli's and Rousseau's valets, who had also been stationed in such a manner, as to see every thing that passed, soon removed their apprehensions by making the signals which had been agreed on.

Having advanced to receive the Cardinal, and having disengaged him from the belt and the cord, they conducted him, in a state of absolute insensibility, to the watering-place. After which, Beauchefne and la Bade, having mounted him on horse-back, Joli and Montet went before, to secure his passage through the gate of the suburb. At this instant his eminency's confusion became so great, that he knew not where he was, or what he did: in consequence of which, his horse, which was too mettlesome for him, and he not even holding the bridle, reared up and fell with him upon the pavement, at their very first setting off; by which accident the Cardinal dislocated his shoulder. This obliged those of his attendants who were nearest to him to dismount, in order to set him again on his horse: and, this circumstance having occasioned a croud to gather about him, Joli and Montet, who observed what passed, came up, in all haste, with their pistols in their hands, to disperse the people. But this was neither difficult nor necessary. Most of the inhabitants were more disposed to facilitate than to prevent his escape; repeatedly crying out to him, 'God bless you, my Lord! may you get safe away!'

Thus,

Thus, the Cardinal was soon remounted, but without recovering from his confusion, * which was now rising to such a height, that in coming out of the suburb, he must inevitably have had his brains beat out, by his horse running away with him, but for the assistance of one of his attendants. It was not even possible to obtain a single word from him for the first four leagues, though all those who were with him used their utmost endeavours to bring him into a better humour. This apparently arose from the violent pain which he felt from his fall. He did not begin to speak till he got into the boat, in which the Duke de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sévigny were waiting for him, and in which he put on a pair of boots during his passage over the river. After having given orders for seizing all the boats, and taken other precautions for stopping the march of those who might be sent in pursuit of them, and for setting them upon a wrong scent, the whole company continued their rout, on fresh horses, to the distance of about two leagues further, the Cardinal not having, hitherto, made the least complaint : but they were astonished to hear him, all on a sudden, utter the most dreadful shrieks, declaring that he could not possibly go any further, and that he would rather suffer himself to be retaken, than continue to gallop on at that rate any longer. So that, at about nine o'clock at night, they were obliged to take him off his horse, and to carry him into a field, by the side of the high road, where the Duke de Brissac left him, under the pretext of going to assemble some of his friends, in order afterwards to conduct him on his journey with the greater security. The Chevalier de Sévigny went to the house of a gentleman, one of his relations, who lived near the spot, to procure his eminency a retreat there for the night : but he did not succeed, and all he could obtain was an arm-chair and twelve peasants, to carry the Cardinal, during the night, as far as Beaupreau,

* The Cardinal says, (in his Memoirs,) that in order to prevent his swooning, he was obliged from time to time, to pull his hair, with all his whole force.

preau, a seat belonging to the Duke de Brissac, at about three or four leagues distance : which was accordingly executed, the bearers relieving each other by turns.

During these transactions, the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who was much afflicted with the gout, received intelligence of the Cardinal's escape. But he was not made acquainted with it till half an hour after his eminency's departure, the centinels having been so successfully amused and deceived by Imbert and Fromantin, that they perceived nothing of the matter. Imbert and Fromantin, pretending to carry away the bottle, had time to effect their retreat from the castle ; the Abbé Rousseau and M. Vacherot having retired immediately upon the completion of the business, leaving the Cardinal's red habit upon the battlement, in order to induce the centinels to believe that he was still there. As soon as the Abbé Rousseau had quitted the castle he went into the first house that he found open, and, having shut the door, he took off his cloak and his cassock, which he left behind him in the house, and instantly appeared in a suit of grey cloaths, and a wig, with which he had taken care to provide himself. He then quitted the city, and retired into the nearest corn field, where he remained concealed till the night came on, during which he escaped to the house of one of his friends, where he continued several days. Imbert also conducted himself in a manner nearly similar, and they both concealed themselves so effectually, that the strict search which was made for them, by order of the Marshal, proved totally fruitless. The first intelligence of the Cardinal's escape was brought to the castle by a page belonging to the marshal's wife, who chanced to be bathing himself in the river at the time, and who, perceiving his eminency coming down from the terrace, began to cry out as loud as he could, in order to alarm the centinels. But, as, at the same time, a Jacobine friar, who, also, was bathing himself, was in apparent danger of being drowned, and as every one who was near the spot was crying out for assistance for him, the centinels imputed the cries of the page, which they

could hear but very indistinctly, to the same cause, so that he (the page) was obliged to run to the castle quite naked, in order to make himself be heard, and to take a considerable circuit, by the way of the city gate, that of the castle, which looks towards the mount, not being open. It happened, also, that those, whose office it was to carry the intelligence to the Marshal, stood gazing on each other for a pretty long time, before they could prevail on themselves to acquaint him with an incident of this nature, through an apprehension of being ill treated, knowing the natural violence of his temper. But, at length, the grand master of the artillery, the son of the Marshal, having learnt what had happened, and having apprized his father of it, several persons on horseback were dispatched in pursuit of Cardinal de Retz; but this was not done till upwards of an hour after his departure from the castle. In the mean time, the Marshal openly threw himself into such terrible passions, that he seemed to have lost his senses: which, however, could not prevent the public from judging that he had secretly connived at the escape of his prisoner. But that opinion was very groundless; and it is certain that, whatever civility he might have shewn him, by order, or, at least, by the permission of the court, he neglected nothing to provide for the security of his person, and that he caused him to be as closely guarded, as he had before been at Vincennes.

Be that as it may, the grand master of the artillery set out on horseback, at the head of the Marshal's guards, and several volunteers, amounting in all to between two and three hundred horse, in pursuit of the Cardinal. But, as so numerous a company could not travel with the requisite expedition, they did not arrive at the place where his eminency had passed the river till three hours afterwards, and, having found no boat there, those which had been made use of for the passage of the Cardinal and his friends having been afterwards sunk, the grand master was inclined to attempt to swim across the river, with ten or twelve of the guards. But from this he was dissuaded by a gentleman

gentleman who had formerly been a page in the de Retz family, who represented to him that it would be not only useless, but dangerous also, seeing that the Duke de Brissac interferred, and that he had, doubtless, assembled his friends: so that he would run no small risque of being taken himself in attempting to retake his prisoner. This argument proved the preservation of Cardinal de Retz, for it is certain, that, had the grand master crossed the river with six of the guards only, he would have overtaken him in his chair, attended by three persons only, viz. Joli, Montet, and la Bade. The Duke de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sevigni had left him, for the purpose of assembling their respective friends. Boisguerin and Beauchefne, had gone before, by different routs, to carry the news of the event to Paris: but the grand master giving implicit credit to what was told him, returned back with his whole troop, excepting a few of the guards, whom he sent the whole length of the shore, to learn whether the Cardinal had actually passed the river at the place where he (the grand master) had stopped.

But that which was most fortunate and most astonishing in the whole affair was, that the Marshal, exclusive of the numerous party which had accompanied the grand master, having dispatched another body of troops, much fewer in number, to the other side of the river, towards Beaupreau, these latter, no more than the others, met with not a single person on their rout, excepting M. de Paris, whom they detained for the space of a whole day, with repeated menaces, and whom they brought back with them to the castle of Nantes. But they were, at length, obliged to release him, on his telling them, with a resolute air, that he wished for nothing more than that they should carry him before the Marshal, and that he should then have the pleasure of acquainting him, that they had amused themselves with seizing a poor priest, whom they had no business whatever to have meddled with, instead of continuing their pursuit of the Cardinal, who was not at above the distance of two leagues before them. This gave such an alarm to the guards, who were well acquainted

acquainted with the violent disposition of the Marshal, that they they did not think fit to introduce to him a witness of their negligence.

Messrs. Vacherot and Salmonet were also discovered and seized at Nantes, but to no purpose : for although the first had assisted in letting the Cardinal down from the terrace, yet no evidence whatever could be produced against him. The other found no difficulty in justifying himself, and in proving that he had always strongly opposed the design. But the servants of Joli and of the Abbé Rousseau, who were seized soon after they had received Cardinal de Retz at the foot of the wall, were treated with a considerable degree of rigour for some time, but it was, at length, found necessary to release them, seeing that they had known nothing of the affair till the very moment of its execution, when they could not dispense with obeying the orders of Joli, against whom the Marshal continually vented his resentment in so furious a manner, that he tore his beard and his hair, declaring that he was enraged to the highest degree to have been so long his dupe, respecting the letters, which he now clearly perceived had been cyphered by him, or decyphered in whatever manner he thought proper.*

If the Marshal found himself in an embarrassed situation at Nantes, that of Cardinal de Retz was not less so at Beaupreau. Upon his arrival at that place, at four o'clock in the morning, not finding the Duke de Brissac there, who was gone to the house of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, to give the necessary orders for assembling his friends, his eminency was, on the remonstrances of the Dutches de Brissac, and for the security of his person, obliged to get into a coach, with the Chevalier de Sévigni and his usual attendants, in order to take refuge at the house of a gentleman named de la Poise, who lived at the distance of about two leagues from thence. This house is surrounded with

* He added that, if ever Joli should fall into his hands, he would cause him to be hanged on the battlement, on which the Cardinal mounted to make his escape.

with deep ditches full of water. He arrived there at about eight o'clock in the morning. His first care was to dispatch Montet immediately to Paris, to give his friends notice of the situation in which he found himself, in consequence of his fall, and which would not permit him to continue his journey. Messrs. de Sévigni and de la Poise left him, to go and assist the Duke de Brissac in gathering his friends together, after having given instructions to the domestics to pay the strictest obedience to all the Cardinal's orders: so that Joli remained alone with him during the space of five or six hours, during which time he remained in bed, enjoying a degree of freedom from pain; after which, the Concierge * having brought him intelligence that he had seen a party of the Marshal's guards pass by the house, the Cardinal, terrified at the news, desired that he would conduct him to some part of the house where he might be safe from their researches. The Concierge having taken his eminency and Joli into his own apartment, caused them to go down to the bottom of a tower, through a trap door, which was concealed from sight by a large trunk which was placed over it. They took down with them a small quantity of bread and wine. The place was very uncommodious, and they sunk, up to the middle, in water and clay. To remedy this inconvenience, some straw chairs were let down, on which the Cardinal and Joli were obliged to sit, for the space of nearly nine hours, in a very disagreeable situation, till the return of the master of the house, who did not come back till ten o'clock at night: he exhorted the Cardinal to wait with patience a little time longer, acquainting him that the Duke de Brissac had not yet been able to collect together more than thirty of his friends, and that he was desirous of procuring a larger number, in order to escort him from thence with the greater security, and in a manner more becoming his rank.

But

* An officer in the families of the nobility and persons of distinction, to whom the care of the house and the superintendency of the servants is committed in the absence of the master.

But the Cardinal, who was tired of his dungeon, determined to continue there no longer, and desiring to have fresh horses to carry him and Joli to Beaupreau, they set out for that place at about eleven o'clock at night, accompanied by the master of the house. They had gone about a league on their way, at a tolerably quick rate: but the Cardinal now, finding himself in great pain, began to cry out in such a manner, that it was found necessary to take him off his horse, whilst M. de la Poise went to seek for some kind of carriage in the neighbourhood, in which he might be conveyed to Beaupreau, which was not more than a league distant. But not having been successful in his search, he returned to the Cardinal, at break of day, and proposed to him that he should drag himself along, in the best manner he could, to a neighbouring farm, which belonged to him (de la Poise) where he might remain in safety, concealed in a hay-stack which was in the yard, till night: after which he promised that the Duke de Brissac should come, at the head of two hundred men, all gentlemen of his acquaintance, to release him from his confinement, and to escort him to Beaupreau.

There being no other choice, he was obliged once more to submit to this fresh humiliation. Having, therefore, reached the farm, a small cavity was made in the hay-stack, in which the Cardinal shut himself up with Joli. Some bread and wine, and a piece of salt meat were given to them, and they remained in this situation from eight o'clock in the morning till five in the evening, the farmer going from time to time, very officiously, to alarm them, whenever he saw any trooper pass by. Nay, the matter was carried still further. They heard several persons on horseback enter the yard, and ask a variety of questions, which seemed to have been calculated to give them uneasiness: and whether this was done for the sake of a jest, or whether it was a serious affair, it served to fill the Cardinal and his companion with great apprehensions for their safety.

Be that as it may, as soon as night arrived, M. de la Poise returned, with several persons on horseback, to

to release them from their imprisonment, and the Cardinal being mounted behind one of the gentlemen of the company, on whose shoulder he rested his wounded arm, they arrived safely at Beaupreau. Here they found the Duke de Brissac, with upwards of three hundred gentlemen, and a coach with two mattresses in it, on which the Cardinal laid himself at his length, resting his arm on Joli's thigh, after having taken a small refreshment at Beaupreau. Every thing was conducted by the Duke de Brissac with the greatest propriety, and in a manner highly becoming his rank.

He put himself at the head of the whole company without any marks of affectation, behaving with the utmost politeness to every one present. All the pages and domestics carried lighted flambeaux in their hands, to light the company on their journey, they having set out from Beaupreau during the night, and the Duke de Brissac had taken the precaution to order his servants to carry wine with them, for those who should chuse to drink any during the march. Thus they arrived, about break of day, at a town called Montaigu, where they found the Duke de Retz, the Cardinal's brother, with a party of between seven and eight hundred horse: so that, the two companies together consisted of upwards of twelve hundred horse, as well masters as servants, most of the gentlemen of the province having offered their services on the occasion with all imaginable readiness. At Montaigu, and all the other places on their rout, the peasants were also under arms, so that, those gentlemen, perceiving their party to be so strong, judged it proper to shew themselves to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, by passing within sight of Nantes, from whence they directed their march to Machecoul, where they arrived on Tuesday the 11th of August, at about five o'clock in the evening, and where the whole company were magnificently entertained, during the whole time that Cardinal de Retz continued there.

The first thing which was done after their arrival was, to examine the Cardinal's arm, and it was now plainly seen that he had not complained without cause:

cause: his whole arm, from the shoulder to the elbow, being as black as ink. Nevertheless, an old surgeon of the Duke de Retz, who was deemed very skilful by the family, after thoroughly examining the arm, gave it as his opinion that the hurt was very slight. This ignorant man did not perceive that the shoulder was dislocated, which was the cause that the Cardinal, having been treated in a very different manner to what he ought to have been on the occasion, for a long time suffered great torture, and continued lame during the rest of his life. This would, certainly, never have happened, had he been attended by a man of experience in his profession who would have set his shoulder at that time.

The next business which was entered upon was, to revoke the resignation of the Archbishopric; which measure had been strongly recommended to the Cardinal by all his friends in general, and to effect which he had already requested them to exert themselves in the best manner they could: but, as all that they could have done, independent of him, must have proved insufficient to have invalidated an instrument signed with his own hand, Joli caused a revocation, in all the proper forms, to be drawn up by the notaries at Machecoul, which was signed by the Cardinal, and was sent, with the utmost dispatch, to Paris, to be made use of as occasion should require. This, however, was not executed totally without opposition, the old Duke de Retz having caused his daughter, the Dutches, to endeavour to dissuade the Cardinal from taking that step, and to point out to him, by many important arguments, the necessity that there was for his ratifying, with a good grace, the resignation which he granted during his imprisonment: by which means alone he could hope to put a stop to the persecutions, and to obtain the favour of the court. But, the young Duke de Retz and the Duke de Brissac, who saw no advantage which was likely to arise to them from that resignation, having supported the above opinion but very feebly, and Joli having, on the contrary, warmly contended for the absolute expediency of the revocation, and having also strongly urged the power and influence

influence of his eminency's friends at Paris and of Pere de Gondy, the measure was agreed on without much difficulty, the objections which the old Duke de Retz had offered not having been weighed, perhaps, with the attention which they deserved.

It was now judged necessary to fix upon some other place than Machecoul, to which the Cardinal might retire, as intelligence had been received that the Marshal de la Meilleraye, in consequence of instructions received from the court, was about to send some troops thither, and as the Duke de Retz could no longer retain with him, or find accommodation for so great a number of the noblesse. Belle-Isle having been chosen for this purpose, the Duke de Brissac, the Chevalier de Sevigni, and Joli embarked with the Cardinal and du Brocard, the Duke de Retz's surgeon, in a shallop, together with thirty or forty gentlemen in two other shallops, and a small vessel called a catt, at the port of la Roche, which is not more than a league distant from Machecoul, whither the Cardinal was carried in a chair, on Friday the 14th of August, during the night, with the utmost privacy; none but those of the party having been entrusted with the knowledge of the design, through fear lest the Marshal, being informed of it, should send after them some armed barks, by which they might be very much embarrassed.

The first day of their voyage passed without any accident, and the little fleet arrived safely in the road of Croisi, excepting the catt, which could not keep up with the rest, for want of wind. But, having been obliged to remain there at anchor during the night, they were thrown into great fear, by the appearance of several vessels, which came, from time to time, to reconnoitre them; the whole coasts being on their guard, on account of some Biscayan vessels which, after hovering about some time, had just before sailed from thence. This alarm, however, was but trifling to that which they met with on the next day, at about two o'clock in the morning, when two Biscayan vessels bore down upon the shallops, and obliged them to run ashore, in a part where there was an old ruined church,

church, which was called St. James, whither the Cardinal retired. He concealed himself in a heap of flates, through fear of being discovered by the people of the country. In this dilemma Joli advised that they should make a signal to the Biscayans, and should desire them to convey them to Belle-Isle, or even directly into Spain, plainly perceiving that they should be obliged to direct their course to that kingdom at last. But the Duke de Brissac, who was not at all inclined to go to Spain, would not, upon any account, listen to the proposal: thus Cardinal de Retz, who dared not adopt any measure without his concurrence, was necessitated to remain amongst the flates, from noon till eight o'clock in the evening, when the Spaniards retired, after having fired several shots at the shallops. It might naturally have been imagined, that the noise of this firing would have brought some persons to the spot; nevertheless, such was the Cardinal's good fortune, that no one came thither during the whole day. But he had scarcely got on board the shallops again with his retinue, before a number of persons on horseback appeared galloping along the shore, drawn thither at length, it should seem, by the noise of the firing, or, perhaps also, by the desire of learning whether any thing had happened to the Cardinal. This danger being passed, no incident of any consequence happened to them during the remainder of the voyage. The sailors rowed hard all night, and the next day, being favoured by a thick fog, the three shallops arrived safely at Belle-Isle, on the 27th of August 1654, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, and the next day following: the Duke de Retz arrived some days afterwards, having been obliged to remain at Machecoul, to return thanks to the nobility, and to give the orders necessary on such an occasion.

Upon their arrival at Belle-Isle they were so fatigued, having been in such continual action from the very day of the Cardinal's escape from Nantes, that they thought at first of nothing but of reposing and diverting themselves, being now in a tolerably pleasant country, and in safety from the enterprizes of Cardinal Mazarin;

so

so that they spent ten or twelve days there without any other uneasiness, than what they felt for the hurt which Cardinal de Retz had received. But, as his case was not yet sufficiently understood, and as du Brocard, who had examined his arm, knew no more of the matter than the surgeon at Machecoul, who had always maintained that the whole was nothing more than a contusion, they did not pay so much attention to it as it deserved; more particularly as the rest, and the greater freedom from alarms, which the Cardinal now enjoyed, gave him some degree of relaxation in the company of his friends.

Thus, they patiently waited the arrival of some intelligence from Paris, before they would determine whether to go to Rome, by the way of Spain, or to Charleville, by that of Holland. In the mean time, they neglected nothing to put themselves in the best state of defence possible; and the Duke de Retz having mustered the inhabitants of the island, who were found to be upwards of nine hundred in number, he obtained a promise from them that, upon the firing of the first cannon, they would all instantly repair to the fort with the usual garrison, which consisted of a hundred men, and the forty gentlemen who had accompanied Cardinal de Retz, whose number was afterwards considerably increased, many of his friends having waited on him with tenders of their services.

The first intelligence was brought by Boisguerin, who acquainted them that, could Cardinal de Retz have proceeded straight to Paris, as it had been at first determined, he would have met with the most satisfactory reception; that the people had manifested an extraordinary joy, when they learnt that he had effected his escape; that the Chancellor and the Abbé Fouquet had prepared to quit the city, upon the report that was spread of his speedy arrival, and that the president de Bellièvre waited only for that opportunity to declare himself against Cardinal Mazarin and the Fouquets, with whom he had lately had a difference. He added that the clergy were well disposed to the interests of Cardinal de Retz; that the chapter of Notre-Dame

Dame had caused a Te-Deum to be sung, at which ceremony upwards of six hundred persons were present; that the curates, also, had determined to follow the example; that the chapter had registered the instrument of the Cardinal's revocation, which was, also, immediately sent to Rome, by M. Chevalier, the brother of the grand Vicar; that the Abbé Fouquet, having been informed of all these proceedings, went to the first president de Bellièvre, and demanded of him the duplicate of the instrument of resignation, which he had in his hands: but that the first President had refused to give it him, alledging that it was a deposit, which he could not deliver up without the consent of Cardinal de Retz; that Caumartin had composed two letters, one to the King and the other to the Queen, on the blanks signed by his eminency, which letters had been carried to the princess Palatine, by M. de Villiers, one of her gentlemen, her Highness having promised to take a proper time to deliver them to their Majesties; that the princess Palatine had written to Caumartin, acquainting him that she did not despair of opening a fresh negotiation with Cardinal de Mazarin, in which even the archbishopric might be preserved to Cardinal de Retz, but that it would be necessary to wait the event of the siege of Arras, which place was then invested by the Spaniards; * that the Duke de Noirmourier had written to the friends of Cardinal de Retz, at Paris, acquainting them that he was ready to receive his

* Arras was a place of great importance to the Spaniards. A short time before this period, the French having laid siege to it, the besieged, confiding in the strength of the place and of the garrison, were accustomed to jest amongst themselves on the presumption of the attempt, observing that, "when the French should make themselves masters of Arras, the mice should eat the cats." But, the place having afterwards surrendered, the French retorted the jest, declaring that, "when the French should yield up Arras, the mice should eat the cats." At this latter siege, the Spaniards were commanded by the Prince of Conde, and were obliged to retire from before the place, after having been forced in their entrenchments. This would not have happened had Fuenfaldaigne followed the advice of the Prince of Conde, who gained great reputation by the admirable retreat which he made.

his eminency into Charleville, if he should be inclined to retire thither, and conjuring them to inform the Cardinal thereof: the Duke had twice before made the same offer to his eminency, during the time of his confinement at Nantes, in consequence of which that prelate had given a letter of credence to Joli for the Duke de Noirmoutier, which he was to make use of as occasion should serve. By this letter he requested that the Duke would be guided by Joli's advice. Boisguerin added that the partizans of the Prince of Condé were very eager to enter into a negotiation with those of Cardinal de Retz; that his Highness had been made acquainted with his escape, and that he was on the road to Paris. The Prince had done all in his power, to prevail on the Count de Fuentaldaigne to raise the siege of Arras, and to march straight to Paris, not doubting but that he should find the greatest part of the citizens readily disposed to receive him: but that general would not listen to the proposal, which, nevertheless, according to all appearance, would have been productive of the utmost advantage to Spain, to his Highness, and to Cardinal de Retz, and, consequently, of the inevitable ruin of Cardinal Mazarin.*

These were all the particulars which were related by Boisguerin, to whom a letter of credence had been given by Caumartin, who had not dared to commit this detail to paper, lest he (Boisguerin) should fall into the hands of the Marshal de la Meilleraye's guards, who had spread themselves over the whole country. But, as Boisguerin was well acquainted with the roads of Brittany, he performed the journey without any accident, and even took Machecoul in his way, where he saw the Dutchess de Retz, who might have taken that opportunity to send her husband the money she had promised him. However, this she neglected to do, as
well

* Cardinal Mazarin observed on this occasion, that fortune, who had favoured Cardinal de Retz in his escape, seemed afterwards, in some sort, to have repented of her kindness, because of his fall from his horse, which had rendered him incapable of pursuing the advantage he had thereby acquired.

well as the Dutcheſs de Briſſac, who had made a ſimilar promiſe to the Duke her huſband alſo. Theſe two ladies contented themſelves with giving them, inſtead of money, a number of falſe alarms, acquainting them that the Marſhal had aſſembled a numerous body of troops, for the purpoſe of beſieging them in Belle-Iſle. This intelligence created in the minds of thoſe gentlemen ſo much uneaſineſs, either feigned or real, that the Cardinal was obliged to think of retiring from a place where, he could plainly perceive that, it had been determined he ſhould make no longer ſtay. The Chevalier de Sévigni, and the reſt, daily pretended to deſcry certain large barks, which, according to them, were ſent by the Marſhal, to inveſt the iſland, which, if once effected, would render their retreat impracticable. The difficulty was to fix upon a proper place to which the Cardinal might retire. The Dukes de Retz and de Briſſac would by no means conſent to his making Charleville the place of his retreat, becauſe they were apprehenſive of involving themſelves in affairs, which might poſſibly be ſpun out to a great length, and from which the Duke de Noirmoutier would reap all the advantage, in caſe an accommodation ſhould take place. Joli, on the other hand, maintained that this was the propereſt ſtep that could be taken in the preſent conjuncture; that the preſence of Cardinal de Retz in thoſe quarters would give great uneaſineſs to Cardinal Mazarin; that there were in the road of Belle-Iſle ſeveral Dutch veſſels, in which he might take his paſſage to Flanders, from whence he might repair to Charleville or to Mezieres, and, finally, that this would be his beſt rout, ſhould he at length determine to go to Rome, and preferable to that of Spain, were it only to deprive Cardinal Mazarin of thoſe pretexts which the latter rout might furniſh him with, to render Cardinal de Retz odious and ſuſpected. However, the Dukes de Retz and de Briſſac prevailed, and determined the Cardinal to embark for Spain, in a ſmall veſſel of twenty-five tons burthen, and whoſe whole crew conſiſted of four men and the maſter, who, they aſſerted, had made that voyage upwards of thirty times. But ſo eager were they

they
belie
veſſe
affec
chan
tend
whic
men
duet
whic
rem
at th
Bois
part
wen
Car
true
ed w
the
of C
have
gues
F
tole
luck
of t
bear
con
her
nea
a ſt
war
and
earl
is b
the
rig
and
kno
on,
eaſt

they for his departure, that they persuaded him into a belief that it would be safer for him to go in that small vessel, than in one of the largest size. After this, they affected to take many idle precautions, to put the change on the Marshal's large barks, which they pretended were constantly hovering about Belle-Isle, and which existed only in the imagination of those gentlemen. For this purpose, they made a show of conducting the Cardinal on board a large Dutch vessel, which set sail immediately afterwards; he, nevertheless, remaining that and the following night on the island, at the house of the curate of Berger, together with Joli, Boisguerin, and du Brocard, from whence they departed on the third night, disguised as soldiers, and went on board a small bark; on which occasion the Cardinal took with him no money whatsoever. It is true that the Duke de Retz caused the bark to be loaded with pilchards, and ordered the master to dispose of the cargo, and to pay the produce of it into the hands of Cardinal de Retz. Joli very fortunately chanced to have one hundred and twenty Louis-d'ors and Boisguerin sixty.

For the first two days of their voyage the wind was tolerably favourable to them, and they met with no unlucky accident till towards two o'clock in the afternoon of the third, when they perceived a large frigate bearing down upon their little bark. This frigate continued to pursue them till night, when she backed her sails, apparently through fear of approaching too near the land. The night proved rather tempestuous, a strong wind having arisen, which drove them towards land; however it passed without any accident, and they reckoned that they should reach St. Sebastian's early in the day; but, in approaching the cape, which is but two leagues distant from that port, the man at the helm, instead of directing his course along the right hand coast, steered along the left, towards Bilboa, and continued in his error, although unwilling to acknowledge it, during the whole day, till night came on, when, having descried a small vessel steering eastward, he made a signal, with the intention of enquiring

quiring the proper course. But this vessel replied no otherwise to the signal, than by firing several guns ; so that they now found it necessary to cast anchor, and to pass the night on a coast with which they were totally unacquainted. The master having, during this interval, discovered his error, he doubled the Cape on the next day, and, a small shallop appearing in sight, he made a signal to her to come on board. The shallop's people made some difficulty to comply, perceiving the bark to be a French vessel ; but when they were questioned concerning the proper course to St. Sebastian's, and whether they were willing to convey thither four persons, for whose passage they would be well paid, they readily embraced the proposal, and landed the Cardinal and his retinue at that port, on the 12th of September 1654 : the bark not arriving till the next day on account of the calm.

As soon as the Cardinal had set foot on land at St. Sebastian's, he dispatched Joli to the Baron de Vatteville, the governor of the place, who was at about a league distant from thence, at a port called the Passage. When the Baron observed Joli's soldier's habit, he asked him whether he came with intelligence from the camp before Arras, to which Joli having replied in the negative, and having acquainted him with his business, the Baron shewed him great civility, expressing much joy in having it in his power to serve Cardinal de Retz, for whom every one entertained a high esteem, and in whose cause the King, his master, and don Louis de Haro would certainly interest themselves in the strongest manner ; adding that, if it would give the Cardinal any satisfaction, he would return immediately to St. Sebastian's ; but that, in order to conduct affairs with as much secrecy as possible, he judged it would be most adviseable to delay his return thither till the time he had appointed at his departure from that place ; that, in the mean time, he would dispatch a courier to Madrid, and that, at the expiration of two days, he would wait on his eminency, in the evening, at the Hotellerie where he then was, and conduct him, together with his attendants, to his palace,

where

where he might remain without the knowledge of any person in the city.

All this was punctually executed at the time appointed, and his eminency was lodged in a separate apartment, where Don Juan de Vatteville, the governor's brother, performed Mass every day, and where the Cardinal and his attendants were entertained in the most elegant manner, whilst the Baron kept another table for himself, in a different part of the palace, at which were constantly present some of the agents of the Prince of Condé, a number of refugees from Bourdeaux, and several officers both in the sea and land service.

The Cardinal immediately wrote letters to the King of Spain and to Don Louis de Haro, requesting permission to pass through the Spanish territories in his way to Italy, and Boisguerin was dispatched to deliver the letters, without receiving any other instructions: the Cardinal scrupulously avoiding to give his enemies the least pretext for charging him with entering into any kind of engagement with the Spaniards. He was only ordered to wait on the Count de Fiesque, who had been sent to Madrid by the Prince of Condé, and to make him many compliments, in his eminency's name, which, in reality, were totally void of all meaning whatever. The Baron de Vatteville would gladly have prevailed on the Cardinal to have proceeded a little further on the occasion; having, for that purpose, made several overtures to him, in a distant manner and with great discretion; but they produced no effect, and his eminency solely occupied himself in preparing for his journey to Rome, having caused the pilchards to be sold, for which he received six hundred crowns, and that sum he laid out in new cloathing for himself and his attendants, who stood in great need of it. Two days after the departure of Boisguerin, another bark arrived from Belle-Isle, loaded with the same kind of merchandize, and which was sold for a like sum. Beauchesne came in this bark. He had been sent from Paris to Belle-Isle, and from thence to St. Sebastian's, with some intelligence, very different from that which Boisguerin had brought, the most important article of which was, that the siege of Arras had been raised, on

which occasion, it was reported, that the Prince of Condé had performed wonders, and that, had he been seconded by the Count de Fuenfaldagne, they would not have met with that misfortune, of being forced in their entrenchments. He further acquainted the Cardinal, that the court had sent orders to Messrs. Granger, Biet, and Joli, canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, to M. Loisel, curate of the church of St. John and chancellor of the university, and to Messrs. Chevalier and L'Avocat, also canons of Notre-Dame and his eminency's grand vicars, to wait upon the King at Peronne: that, upon their arrival there, they received fresh orders, to retire to different places, whither they were exiled; that a proclamation had been published at Paris, by sound of trumpet, commanding all the domestics of Cardinal de Retz to retire from the city in twenty-four hours; that those of the late Archbishop had been driven from the archiepiscopal palace, of which possession had been taken by Saint Amour, an exempt, and four soldiers; that an edict of the council had, afterwards, been communicated to the chapter, requiring them to take upon themselves the spiritual administration of the diocese, as being vacant *en regale*, in consequence of the omission to take the oath of fidelity, and further enjoining them to proceed to the immediate election of the grand vicars; that one party of the members of the chapter had proposed, that, before they entered upon any other business whatever, they should first present remonstrances to his Majesty, on the subject of the banishment of their brethren, but that the assembly had, however, at length determined, by a majority of three voices only, to assume the spiritual government of the diocese, not as being vacant, but on account of the absence, and till the return of Cardinal de Retz, and of his grand vicars; and finally, that, for this purpose, the chapter had nominated Messrs. Decontes, their dean, Le Musle Derroches, a chanter, Charton, a penitentiary, and Séguier, a prebend, to execute the functions of grand vicars, and had also resolved to petition his Majesty in favour of the exiles.

All these incidents having happened in consequence of the bad success of the Spaniards before Arras, of which

which the Baron de Vatteville had sent intelligence to Madrid, Boisguerin, who returned from thence some days afterwards, informed Cardinal de Retz, that this had only served to fortify Don Louis de Haro in the resolution to exhort his eminence not to go to Rome, but rather to repair to the Duke de Noirmoutier's government, offering to escort him thither with their whole naval force, and to furnish him, for that purpose, with a large sum of money, without exacting from him any thing, but what he himself should judge requisite to his own interests; that if he was absolutely determined on the journey to Rome, he might as easily go thither from Charleville, directing his course through Germany, as by any other rout: but that he did not think it adviseable for his eminency to take that step; that he would not meet with such a reception at Rome as he expected: that all things were governed there by events alone; that, in consequence of the affair of Arras, he would find at that court a much greater want of resolution, than he could possibly suppose; that, nevertheless, he was ready to serve his eminency after his own mode, and, if he was fully resolved to pass into Italy, he would send, with all possible dispatch, one of his secretaries to him, with one of the King's letters, to conduct him to a port in the kingdom of Valencia, where he would find a galley ready equipped, with whatever pecuniary assistance he should desire, offering him, for that purpose, his own purse, and the whole credit of the King, his master.

All these offers were confirmed, some days afterwards by Don Christoval de Crassenberg, a German, and the principal secretary to Don Louis de Haro, who arrived at St. Sebastian's with one of the King of Spain's litters, and who brought all the necessary orders for the Cardinal's journey into Italy, together with the sum of four thousand pistoles, in specie, and letters of credit to the amount of fifty thousand crowns. He made his eminency still greater offers, if he would consent to go to Charleville or to Mezieres.

Joli, who had first suggested that measure to the Cardinal, used every endeavour to prevail on him to adopt it, representing to him that it would be the only

only method to bring Cardinal Mazarin to an accommodation, by alarming him with the apprehension of his entering into a fresh union with the Prince of Condé; that Rome would be to him no other than a place of exile, at too great a distance for him to effect any thing considerable; that Cardinal Mazarin, far from fearing what he might be able to do there, had long wished that he would take up his residence in that city, seeing that he had proposed it to him several times; that the Pope was in an advanced age, and was incapable of acting with vigour; that his successor might be less favourably disposed to his eminency's interests; that, at the worst, Cardinal Mazarin might easily elude in France all that he could undertake against him at Rome, by sheltering himself under the King's authority, the laws of the state, the customs of the parliaments, and the immunities of the Gallican church; and, finally, that he thought, that the most eligible conduct which the Cardinal could pursue would be to accept of the offers of the Duke de Noirmoutier, to put him in possession of a strong frontier town, from whence it would be easy for him to carry on his correspondence with his friends, to enter into a treaty with the Prince of Condé, and even with the Spaniards, also, should it be found necessary. Joli strongly urged Cardinal de Retz, at all events, to accept of the four thousand pistoles, which were, in some sort, necessary to him, in the situation in which he then was, in hopes that, from this trifling engagement, he might be induced to proceed still further; observing to him that, even should he decline receiving that money, his enemies would, infallibly, accuse him of having taken it; that engagements of that kind were never prejudicial to affairs at bottom, and were considered as trifles only in an accommodation; that, should he go to Rome, he could not subsist with honour, but on the bounty and the credit of his friends, which might, in time, fail him, either through their inability or their want of good will; and, finally, that he ought to be very cautious not to let the Spaniards perceive that he was determined against receiving any succour from them; as, otherwise, they might not only
totally

totally neglect his interests at Rome, but might even traverse his designs at that court, and sacrifice him, perhaps, to Cardinal Mazarin. But all these arguments proved ineffectual: Cardinal de Retz persisted in his resolution of going to Rome. Beauchefne and M. de Salles, who were recently arrived from Paris, represented to him, that the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac, and all his friends in that city, strongly recommended that measure to him. He also refused to accept the four thousand pistoles from the King of Spain, and he chose rather to borrow four hundred from the Baron de Vatteville, to enable him to continue his journey, which he afterwards caused to be repaid him. He accepted, however, the litter which the King of Spain had sent him, and he left a cypher with Christoval, of which he promised to make use, as occasion should serve, to correspond with Don Louis de Haro. He obtained from him (Christoval) a promise, that the Spaniards should afford assistance to the Dukes de Retz and de Brissac, in case they should be attacked at Belle-Isle, as they were threatened to be: of which he sent them intelligence by Beauchefne.

All things being in readiness, the Cardinal departed from St. Sebastian's, on the first day of October, in the King of Spain's litter, attended by Joli, Boissguerin, de Salles and du Brocard, who were mounted on mules, and the Baron de Vatteville's steward, who defrayed all the expences of the journey. The first day they reached Tolozette, which place is about four leagues distant from St. Sebastian's, and on the following day they met with some French merchants, who recollected the persons of the Cardinal and of Joli, in spite of all their endeavours to conceal themselves from them. The remainder of the journey was agreeable enough, except with respect to the article of beds, which are very scarce in Spain, even in the inns, and every traveller is obliged to carry with him whatever he may stand in need of. They passed near Pamplune and stopped at a little town named Tudela, the inhabitants of which had taken arms against the nobility, on occasion of a dispute, relative to some depredations which the latter had committed in hunt-

ing: for which reason a party of soldiers were stationed before the house in which the Cardinal was lodged, the inhabitant having conceived a notion, that he came thither to punish the mutineers, because he travelled in a military character, under the title of Marquis de St. Florent Bourguignon: so that he was detained there for the space of three days, and was obliged, in order to obtain the liberty of pursuing his journey, to write to the viceroy of Navarre, at Pampelune, who made him sensible of his dissatisfaction, respecting the negligence which he had shewn, in passing close by the gates of his capital, without sending any person to compliment him in his name.* From thence they proceeded to Sarragossa, a large and handsome city, in which there is a church celebrated for an image of the Virgin Mary, called Nuestra Senora Delpilar, renowned for the miracles which are ascribed to it. The Cardinal having repaired to this church early in the evening, for the purpose of performing his devotions, the doors, which he found shut, were immediately opened to him; the attendants even took off the ornaments which were about the image, in order that he might have an opportunity of viewing it: giving him to understand, at the same time, that this was a compliment which they paid to none but Cardinals and sovereign Princes. This was sufficient to convince him that they were well acquainted with his quality: but the Cardinal would never be undeceived in that respect, still affecting to travel incognito, and striving, to the utmost of his power, to support the character which he had assumed. He constantly entertained a notion, that a criminal process was carrying on against him in France, on the subject of his journey into Spain; and it was this apprehension which compelled him to conduct himself in the manner

* The Cardinal was exposed to great danger at Tudela: some of the mutineers having proposed to force their way into the house in which he resided, with an intent to assassinate him: from which circumstance, he, long afterwards, took occasion to observe, that, in one point, he surpassed Henry IV. as that Prince's life had been endangered but eleven times, whereas his had been in peril on fifteen different occasions.

ner he did at St. Sebastian's, and in all the other places in the Spanish territories.

At length, after several disagreeable incidents, they arrived, on the 14th of October, at a town in the kingdom of Valencia, situated on the sea coast, called Vivaros. On the next morning they found there a galley in readiness, the commandant of which, Don Ferdinand de Corillo, a very accomplished and discreet young gentleman, immediately waited on Cardinal de Retz and attended him to church. When Mass was finished, he took the sacrament in honour of the day, it being the feast of St. Thereza, after which he returned to the galley, and, at about six o'clock in the evening, he sent the felucca to convey the Cardinal and his attendants on board. His eminency was received without any ceremony, every one feigning to be ignorant of his quality, although they were, at the same time, sufficiently apprized of it. The galley was compleatly equipped. Her crew consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers and eighty sailors, together with twenty-eight benches of oars on each side, with seven or eight men to every oar.

A short time before, a gentleman, who was a relation of Don Louis de Haro, named Don Christoval, arrived at Vivaros, with a present from that minister to the Cardinal, of two large chests filled with gloves and Spanish skins. In one of these chests were several purses of money, which the Cardinal once more refused; reserving only the gloves and perfumes, which were estimated at two thousand crowns, and which he afterwards presented to Don Ferdinand de Corillo, excepting a few pair of the gloves. This manner of proceeding appeared, as it was in reality, very noble and generous to the Spaniards, who pique themselves on these kind of liberalities; but, as their expectations from him had been of a different sort, this did not produce all the effect which he had imagined. He also gave a very large gratuity, considering the state of his finances, to the Baron de Vatteville's steward, although he had made but very indifferent provision for his table on the road. He likewise amply rewarded those who had carried the litter.

All these matters being adjusted, they set sail, and, the wind having proved pretty favourable to them during the whole day, they cast anchor, at about five o'clock in the evening, in a small bay opposite Majorca. On the following day, Don Ferdinand having acquainted the Cardinal that he might go ashore, if he thought proper, and amuse himself with walking about the city, seeing that the wind was against them, his eminency accordingly landed on the island, and was regaled, for three successive days, by the viceroy, who, also, pretended not to know him, and engaged his wife to give a ball, for the purpose of shewing him all the gentry of the place. Majorca is one of the most pleasant cities in the world, and is larger and more populous than Orleans. The women of this place are very handsome: but it is otherwise with respect to the men, to whom nature has been rather unfavourable in their persons, but who are renowned for their bravery and courage at sea. Concerts also were performed before the Cardinal in some of the convents of females, and nothing was neglected to divert him during the time: after which, the wind having changed, he re-imbarked on board the galley, and, in the course of about eleven hours, reached Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, one of the finest harbours in Europe. The entrance of this harbour is very narrow, and it is with difficulty it will admit more than two galleys to pass a-breast; but it grows wider by degrees, for the space of two leagues, till you reach the city of Minorca, situated on an eminence, at the foot of which the largest vessels may ride in safety. The inhabitants being prepossessed with a notion that the plague had appeared in Spain, would not permit any person in the galley to land; but they brought them provision and refreshments down to the sea shore, and received the value in vinegar. The galley lay in this situation, wind-bound, from the Tuesday to the Sunday morning; when, the wind changing, she sailed out of port, with the design of reconnoitering some vessels which had appeared upon the coast: but, not having seen any thing of them, she continued her course through the gulph of Leon, along the coast of the island of Sardinia, and,

on

on the Monday, in the evening, made several attempts to put into Saffary, but without effect. This proved a very fortunate circumstance for the Cardinal, the French fleet, on board of which the Duke of Guise was going as ambassador to Naples, having been at anchor in that road for several days past: so that, on the next morning, the galley having reached the entrance of the canal, which is between Sardinia and the island of Corsica, pursued her course towards Cagliari, as had been before determined on, and the report of two cannon, fired with ball, with a short interval between each, having been heard at a distance, Don Ferdinand concluded that this was a signal made by some persons on shore, to warn him of the proximity of the above fleet, which he knew must be on its passage. He, accordingly, ordered a sailor to go up to the top of the mast, to see if he could discover any vessel near the canal, which they were about to quit, in order that he might have time to retire to Capo-Bonifacio in case of need. The sailor having reported that he could only perceive two tartans, which were coasting along the shore, and which appeared to him to be Barbary corsairs, the commandant gave orders for chasing them. The crew expressed great joy on the occasion; but, through the negligence of the pilot, the galley struck, immediately after quitting the canal, on a bank of sand between two small rocks. Very fortunately, the vessel received no damage from this accident, because the sea chanced to be calm, and there was very little wind: however, the slaves having attempted to break their chains, and to set themselves at liberty, Don Ferdinand and the soldiers instantly drew their swords and compelled them to take their seats again; after which he ordered the selucca and the skiff to be hoisted out, to land the Cardinal and his attendants, together with some other passengers, on the rocks, where they were obliged to remain till the vessel could be got off: which was at length effected, at the end of three hours, with great toil and difficulty.

They then directed their course to Porto Vecchio, where they anchored and passed the night: and on the next day, which was the feast of St. Simon and St.

St. Jude, the wind not permitting them to pursue their voyage, they went on shore, to attend mass. But, in the midst of the service, intelligence being brought, that the French fleet was at Cagliari, Don Ferdinand caused every one immediately to reembark. Nevertheless, as the sea ran very high, and as a council had been held, it was judged improper to weigh anchor at that time : the officers being unanimously of opinion, that there was no possibility of their being attacked by any ships of war, so long as the wind should continue to blow thus hard ; and that, if it should abate, they should still have time sufficient to take shelter in some port. In spite of these considerations and of the bad weather, which still continued, Don Ferdinand set sail, on the day following, contrary to the opinion of the subaltern officers, who even signed a written protest against the measure. In fact, the tempest raged so violently, from five o'clock in the morning to the same hour in the evening, that every one confessed himself and prepared for death, a shipwreck appearing inevitable. However, as the wind was not contrary, the galley made great way, and, at the beginning of the night, having approached too near to a small island, called La Rinara, the whole crew cried out, Terra ! Terra ! and prepared to throw themselves into the sea, imagining that the galley was about to run aground and split. This would certainly have happened had not the commandant given orders for shifting the helm, in order to double the point of the island, and to get more under the wind ; which being effected, and the sea being less agitated in that part, the crew, with repeated shouts of Calma ! Calma ! expressed their joy of the alteration. It was still, however, sufficiently rough, to prevent them from using their oars which they ineffectually attempted to do, many of them having been broken, by the violence of the waves : so that Don Ferdinand was obliged to drop two anchors, both of which, very fortunately, fastened. He then waited on the Cardinal, and acquainted him, that he had been in imminent peril, but that the danger was now passed ; that it was necessary that his eminency should now think of reposing himself ; and that, on the next day,

he

he expected to reach Porto-Longone. That gentleman stood in greater need of rest than any one else, having greatly harrassed himself during the whole day, and having given the strictest attention to every thing that passed, without quitting the spot from whence he issued his orders, save now and then, to give an account to the Cardinal of the state in which matters were.

On the next day, the storm being considerably abated, they weighed anchor at four o'clock in the morning, and arrived, at nine, at Porto-Longone, where every one was amazed to see a galley come in, after the storm which had happened on the preceding day. In a short time afterwards, the wind again rose to so great a height, that they found it impossible to pursue their course to Piombino, having been obliged to put back again three several times. This gave the Cardinal an opportunity of visiting Porto-Ferraio, another port of the island of Elbe, belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

At length, on the 3d of November 1654, they landed at Piombino, where Cardinal de Retz threw off the character which he had assumed ever since his departure from France. In advancing farther into the Grand Duke's territories, he met with, at the first city in which he passed the night, some of his Highness's domestics, who had orders to treat the Cardinal at their master's expence: that Prince having taken the precaution to dispatch several persons to different places, with that design, as soon as he learnt that his eminency was upon the road to Italy.

At the distance of half a league from thence, they met with his Highness's master of the ceremonies, who brought letters with him from the Grand Duke to Cardinal de Retz, filled with the most obliging offers and compliments, but accompanied with a request, that he would not be offended, should he be obliged to perform a kind of quarantine (on account of the disorder, which was reported to be rise in Spain at that time) in a place called Spedaletta, at a house which is situated almost by itself, amongst the mountains near Volterra, not far from the spot where Cataline was formerly defeated by the army of the republic of Rome. They found at this place several other domestics of the Grand Duke,

Duke, by whom the Cardinal was regaled in the most splendid manner, during the whole time of his stay. But there is good reason to believe, that the Grand Duke made use of the pretext of the unhealthiness of Spain, in order to gain time to write to France, and to obtain the acquiescence of that court, in the permission which he so obligingly granted the Cardinal, to pass through his dominions.

The Cardinal's first care, after his landing, was to dispatch a courier express, with a letter to the Abbé Charrier, requiring him to repair to Spedaletta, whether he came at the end of four or five days, so fully persuaded that the Cardinal ought to confirm the resignation, which he had formerly granted, of his archbishopric, that, immediately upon his arrival, having met Joli and Boisguerin, who were walking together, at the distance of two hundred paces from the house, the first question which he asked them was, whether such was not his eminency's intention: to which they having replied, that they did not believe it was, he quitted them, apparently chagrined at this intelligence, and declaring that, should that really be the case, he would not derive any advantage from his journey to Italy. He afterwards exerted all his endeavours, to inspire the Cardinal with the same sentiments, and his eminency was, of himself, very well disposed thereto: but, as he received, just at this juncture, several letters from his friends at Paris, who still persisted in dissuading him, in the strongest manner, from that design, and who tendered him their purses, to enable him to support himself at Rome with dignity, provided that he did not launch out into too great an expence; on this account, I say, all the remonstrances of the Abbé Charrier proved ineffectual, although he offered to go to Paris, to convince the Cardinal's friends of the absolute necessity of the resignation, and to dispose the court to receive it favourably. The further consideration of this proposal was postponed till the Cardinal should have been some time at Rome, where he would be better enabled to judge of what steps were proper to be taken.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



most
stay.
Grand
efs of
, and
rmis-
al, to

as to
Abbé.
whi-
y per-
igna-
chbi-
aving
ether,
house,
nether
they
s, he
gence,
e, he
ey to
rs, to
nd his
ereto :
letters
liffua-
esign,
im to
d that
e ; on
Abbé
to go
ne ab-
se the
sidera-
rdinal
would
per to

